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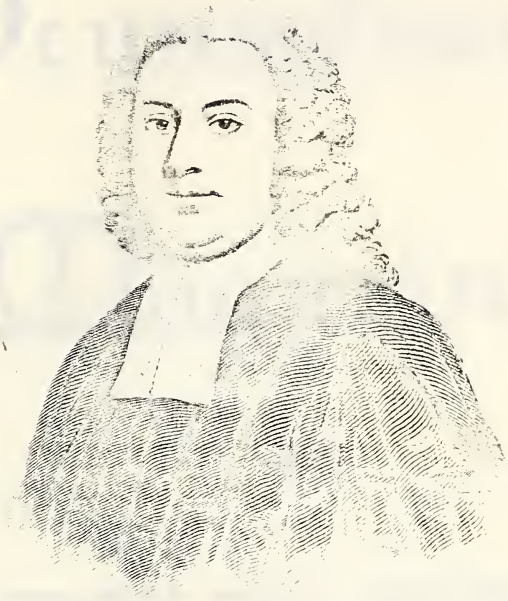

Dan.l Dulany.
9th Dec.r 1753.

The Pennsylvania Magazine

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THE

PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE

OF

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

VOL. III. 1879. No. 1.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF DANIEL DULANY.

BY JOHN H. B. LATROBE.

WHEN the great lawyers of Maryland are enumerated, the first in the order of time and in eminence is Daniel Dulany. Then follow Samuel Chase, Luther Martin, William Pinckney, William Wirt, and Roger B. Taney; and now, the name of Reverdy Johnson, so recently dead, connects the eminent Maryland lawyers of the past with their successors, still living, who may become historical in their time. Of those here named, the biographer has materials far more ample than any which the most careful research can discover in regard to him whom tradition places before them all—a tradition so emphatic as to have justified the ablest of the historians of Maryland, himself a distinguished lawyer—McMahon—in his exalted eulogy.[1] The following brief sketch contains, however, all,

[1] After his eulogistic remarks, McMahon goes on to say: "Mr. Pinckney, himself the wonder of his age, who saw but the setting splendor of Mr. Dulany's talents, is reported to have said of him, 'That even amongst such men as Fox, Pitt, and Sheridan, he had not found his superior.'"—McMahon's *History of Maryland*, pp. 356–7.

it is believed, that can be considered as authentic in this regard.

Of the father of Daniel Dulany, "Daniel Dulany the elder," as he has been called by way of distinction, not much is known beyond what is to be found in the provincial records of Maryland. From these we learn that he was admitted to the bar in 1710, and filled, subsequently, the offices of Attorney-General, Judge of the Admiralty Court, Commissary-General, Agent, and Member of the Council, or upper house of the legislature, holding the latter office under the successive administrations of Governors Bladen, Ogle, and Sharpe. That he was an able lawyer there can be no question. The offices that he held sufficiently establish his professional reputation, and his social rank. He was, for many years, a member of the lower house of the legislature, and was prominent there as the leader of the Country Party, in the controversy about extending English Statute law to Maryland. He died at Annapolis, December 5, 1753, in the 68th year of his age.[1]

Daniel Dulany, the subject of this sketch, was the son of Daniel Dulany, above named, and Rebecca, his second wife, the daughter of Colonel Walter Smith of Calvert County. He was born at Annapolis, July 19, 1721, was educated at Eton, and at Clare Hall, Cambridge, England, was entered of the Temple, and, returning to America, was admitted to the bar of Maryland in 1747. He married Rebecca, daughter of Benjamin Tasker, Esq., of Annapolis, and died in Baltimore, on the 19th of July, 1797. His burial was in old St. Paul's church-yard, which was in the rear and around the site of the

[1] When the somewhat celebrated King of the Gypsies, Bamfylde-Moore Carew, was for the second time transported to America, the vessel in which he came landed at Kent Island. Carew was sold as an expert gardener to Mr. Dulany, who, finding that he could not mow, said he was no gardener, and refused to take him.—*Adventures*, p. 293.

William Black, in his Journal, 20th of May, 1744, speaks of Mr. Dulany calling on and spending the evening with the Virginia Commissioners, while they were at Annapolis. On the 25th of May the Commissioners, in their letter home, speak of him as having been changed for Jennings as one of the Maryland Commissioners for treating with the Six Nations at Lancaster.—Penna. Mag., vol. i. pp. 130, 238.

present church edifice. This ground was long since desecrated and built upon.[1]

Mr. Dulany filled the office of Secretary of the Province for many years, and until the close of the Proprietary Government. The routine of his life seems to have been that of an eminent lawyer in commanding practice, devoted to the business of his profession, and but rarely interrupted by matters of public concern. There were occasions, however, in which he was brought conspicuously before the people; and it is in connection with these that we have the most authentic, indeed, almost the only authentic, testimony in regard to him. Hearsay evidence abounds, not relating, however, to those current incidents of daily life which afford materials for the biographer, but to the consideration in which he was held by his cotemporaries—evidence of weight certainly, but, nevertheless, like all tradition, secondary in its character, and of which it may be said, *vires acquirit eundo.*

When the General Assembly of Maryland met on the 23d of September, 1765, among the first business that came before it was the circular from the Assembly of Massachusetts, in-

[1] The remains of Daniel Dulany were at the time removed to the present cemetery of St. Paul's, at the corner of Lombard and Fremont Streets, and, according to George L. L. Davis, the tombstone was there. His monument bore the following inscription:—

> In memory of the Hon: Daniel Dulany, Esq: barrister-at-law, who with great integrity and honour for many years, discharged the important appointment of Commissary-General, Secretary of Maryland, and one of the Proprietary Council. In private life he was beloved, and died regretted, March 19, 1797, aged 75 years and 8 months. Rebecca his wife, daughter of the late Benjamin Tasker, Esq., of Annapolis, caused this tomb to be erected. E.

Memoirs of the Dead, and Tombs' Remembrancer, Baltimore, 1806. 12mo.

The children of Daniel Dulany were Daniel, who d. s. p.; Rebecca Ann, who m., and had one daughter, who d. s. p.; and Benjamin, who m. Elizabeth French, from whom are numerous descendants.

viting the other colonies to unite in the appointment of commissioners to a general congress, to be held in New York. The arrival of the Stamp paper was then momentarily expected, and the Governor sought the advice of the Lower House as to the disposition to be made of it. This they declined to give; and the Upper House, when he turned to them, assured him that the only place of security against attempts to destroy it, would be one of his Majesty's ships on the Virginia station.

The question of the Stamp Act was thus fairly before the people of Maryland, and the press teemed with essays in opposition. Of these, the ablest, unquestionably, was one entitled, "Considerations on the propriety of imposing taxes in the British Colonies for the purpose of raising a revenue by Act of Parliament." It appeared in Annapolis on the 14th October, 1765; and although published anonymously, Daniel Dulany was, at once, recognized as its author. It argued the question, not only as a lawyer dealing with the proper construction to be given to the Charter of Maryland, but as a statesman discussing the principles of the British Constitution. Nor did he confine himself to generalities, but narrowed down the argument to the exact power claimed by the Act—the power to impose internal taxes on the Colonies, without their consent, for the single purpose of revenue—viewed in the light of British authority and British precedent.

The great interest that was felt in the subject throughout the Colonies; the clear, perspicuous, and forcible manner in which the essay discussed it; the moderation of its tone; its appeal to reason and judgment, and not to feeling, and the free and fearless argumentation when the question of right was involved, attracted attention to the author, and placed Mr. Dulany at once upon an equality with, if not at the head of, the political essayists of the day. It is upon this essay, rather than upon the opinions in given cases, that are to be found in the law reports of Maryland, that the reputation of Mr. Dulany as an accomplished and powerful writer mainly rests. It may be fairly said, that it was owing, in a great degree, to his influence that "the Province of Maryland was

never polluted even by an attempt to execute the Stamp Act."[1]

The next occasion, when Mr. Dulany was brought prominently before the people, was one in which his course was certainly open to the criticism of being inconsistent with the principles of his celebrated essay.

From an early period in Maryland, public officers had been compensated, not by salaries, but by fees, which the legislature regulated from time to time. One of the regulating Acts came up for renewal in 1770, and was objected to on account of the exorbitance of the fees, especially of the Provincial Secretary, who was then Mr. Dulany, of the Commissary-General, Walter Dulany, who was his relative, and of the judges and members of the Upper House. In consequence of an invincible disagreement on the subject between the two Houses, Governor Eden prorogued the legislature; and, by virtue of his supposed prerogative, established the fees by proclamation, adopting the system that the Lower House had refused to sanction.

Hitherto, the people of Maryland had objected to the taxation of Parliament, not because of the amount of the tax, but of the principle involved. Now, the same principle was involved, and in the shape of actual oppression; and it was only reasonable to believe that the author of the great essay would be as much opposed to the regulation of fees by proclamation, which was one form of taxation, as he had been to taxation without representation in the case of the Stamp Act. It was not so, however; and after a fruitless discussion for two years between the Upper and Lower Houses, the essayists took the matter in hand, and, over the signature of Antilon, Daniel Dulany attempted to vindicate the proclamation. On the other side, was Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who, adopting the pseudonym of "The First Citizen," turned against Mr. Dulany the argument of his own essay. The controversy was carried on for some months, brilliantly on both sides; but, in the end, Mr. Carroll obtained a decided victory; the elec-

[1] McMahon.

tions of 1773 resulted in favor of the anti-proclamation party, and the thanks of the people in several of the counties were presented to "The First Citizen" by their representatives.

It is impossible to read the productions of Mr. Dulany, which are still to be perused by the curious in the time-worn volumes of the Maryland Gazette, without recognizing a man, "confident in his own resources, indignant at opposition, contemptuous as if from conscious superiority, and yet sometimes affecting contempt, as the cover under which to escape from principles not to be resisted."[1] It was the fortune of the writer of this sketch to hear from Mr. Carroll's lips recollections of the controversy, and to hear him bear witness to the rare talent, the distinguished abilities, and high position, socially and politically, of his opponent in 1773.

In cases like the present, where the lives of individuals afford scant materials for the biographer, the testimony of cotemporaneous public opinion becomes important; and in the proclamation controversy we have a glimpse of Mr. Dulany's standing in Maryland. Mr. Carroll was a Catholic; and, leaving the line of fair argument, one of Mr. Dulany's friends assailed the former in a communication that furnishes evidence of the light in which the latter was regarded. "But, when I saw," says the writer, "the man from whom this country has reaped such solid advantages, the man who, but a few years ago, stood forth in vindication of our then undoubted rights—to whom the whole continent hath paid its debt of gratitude, and to whom the illustrious Pitt was wholly indebted for his famous enthusiastic speech in support of America—held up as an object of lawless fury, and that, too, principally, by one who does not enjoy the privilege of offering his private vote at an election, I cannot describe what I then felt."

Mr. Dulany was again made conspicuous in connection with public affairs by the part he took in the discussion of the Vestry Act, a measure which excited the Province of Maryland not less than the proclamation had done.

The Church of England was made the established Church

[1] McMahon, p. 390.

of Maryland by the legislature in 1692, when its support was provided for by the imposition of a poll-tax of 40 lbs. of tobacco, to be collected by the sheriff, and paid over to the clergy. The Act of 1763, which regulated the clergy's dues, as well as the fees of officers, reduced the tax to 30 lbs., at which it continued until the disagreement of the two Houses, already referred to, permitted the Act of 1763 to expire, when the Act of 1701, which had fixed the tax at 40 lbs., was held to be revived. The question was purely technical; but the discussion to which it gave rise was intensely bitter. Mr. Dulany took part with the clergy, and his opinions sustaining the validity of the Act of 1701 have been preserved. They fully justify the reputation which the "considerations" gave.

With the discussion of the Stamp Act, the Proclamation, and the Vestry Act, Mr. Dulany's prominence in public affairs ended, so far, at least, as can be gathered from the newspapers of the day, or anything deserving the name of authentic testimony. In October, 1774, when the angry discussions of the above measures were dying out, the Peggy Stewart, with a quantity of tea on board, arrived at Annapolis; and, mainly, in consequence of the advice of Mr. Dulany's late opponent, Mr. Carroll, was burnt in the harbor as the only means of satisfying the exasperated community. The particulars of this transaction, and the names of the prominent persons engaged in it, have been preserved; but nowhere do we find any mention of Mr. Dulany. The author of the "Considerations" was now the upholder of the royal authority; and it is not surprising that we next find his name in the list of persons whose property was confiscated, under the Act of 1780, as British subjects.[1] The Revolution found him in the retirement of private life, nor have we any proof that he afterwards emerged from it.

When Messrs. Harris and McHenry, in 1809, began the publication of the Maryland Law Reports, gathering from the records of preceding years whatever was regarded as authority, they completed their first volume by adding all the opinions

[1] Scharf's *Chronicles of Baltimore*, p. 189.

of Daniel Dulany which they had been able to obtain. They could have paid no greater tribute to his memory; and the use that succeeding generations of lawyers have made of the material thus afforded has fully justified its being placed side by side, and, as it were, upon a par with the decisions of the legal tribunals. If not the cotemporaries of Mr. Dulany, both reporters were old enough to have seen him in the courts, and listened to his arguments, and were, certainly, familiar with the judges who had had that advantage.

The opinions in 1st Harris and McHenry are on various subjects; and those upon questions connected with slavery are curious reading in the light enjoyed to-day.[1] All are distinguished by force of expression, logical directness, and clearness of statement, with no attempt at elegance of language or extended illustration.

We have thus given the tangible testimony, so to speak, upon which the reputation of Daniel Dulany rests; and which, in connection with circumstances that cotemporaneous history authenticates, fully sustains it; and when we add to this the tradition already referred to, and which it is impossible to ignore, there can be no question that not only *primus inter pares*, but high above them all, was Daniel Dulany.

If it should be said that his noble argument upon the Stamp Act was contradicted by his conduct when the carrying out of his doctrine resulted in separation from Great Britain, the answer is, that, in "The Considerations" he was vindicating the rights of English freemen, whose claim to exemption from taxation without representation was independent of their residence on this, or on the other side of the Atlantic; and that he honestly preferred to seek redress under the crown itself, rather than to set up a Republic for the purpose; and we are unjust judges, when we apply to him the experience and convictions of to-day, and ignore the time when we were three millions only of people, scattered along the Atlantic coast from Maine to Florida.[2] And if it should be urged

[1] See particularly the opinion of 16th Dec. 1767.

[2] Comparing the power of Great Britain with the scanty means of the Provinces, both in men and the materials of war, Mr. Dulany was not the

against Mr. Dulany now, as it was in 1773, that he supported the proclamation which fixed his own fees as Secretary of the Province, and those of his kinsman, the Commissary-General, it is only proper to refer to his vehement denial that he was influenced by any personal considerations. The proclamation, he solemnly asserted, "was the unbiased act of the Governor (Eden), which had received the approbation of the entire Council; and the proceedings of that period certainly manifest the most hearty concurrence of the whole executive in its support. By the force of these circumstances he was identified with the measure; and with a character too decided for neutrality, and an intellect that never feared the grapple of argument, he did not hesitate to avow, in the face of opposition, that, in his opinion, it was both legal and expedient."[1] Nor is it possible to read what he wrote upon the subject without admitting the force and reasonableness of his views; although the popular judgment at the time, confirmed by the opinions now entertained, was adverse to his conclusions.

On the wall of the Superior Court-room in the city of Baltimore, there hang three portraits, of Daniel Dulany,[2] Luther Martin, and Roger B. Taney respectively. Of these, the most unrefined, perhaps, is Martin's, the most thoroughly lawyer-like and judicial is Taney's, the best by far of the three, as a work of art, is Dulany's. Martin's has the disadvantage of having been painted at a later period of his life than the

only one who believed that victory in the impending strife was impossible; and that with no prospect of it before them, humanity made it the duty of all good men to obviate suffering that was inevitable, and for which there would be no compensation. In his letter of 1755, when speaking of the sufferings of the French neutrals, of whom nine hundred and three had just been sent to Maryland, Mr. Dulany says: "The effects of war are so calamitous, that give us peace on any terms is always part of my prayer." While, with our present views, we may regret the part that Mr. Dulany took in the Revolutionary day, we should, in charity, remember that, after all, our judgment is formed after the event.

[1] McMahon, pp. 387–8.

[2] Since the above notice was written, the Dulany portrait has been removed from the court-room, and is now in the possession of Henry Grafton Dulany, Junior.

others; and the ability of the respective artists has, no doubt, something to do with the result; but, unquestionably, in the portrait of Dulany, we see a full justification of the character that tradition gives him, when it adds to the intellect and learning of a great lawyer the deportment and conscious dignity of an accomplished gentleman; and we gaze on it with regret that, in fact, so little is known, except through tradition, of the daily and inner life of Daniel Dulany.

MILITARY AND POLITICAL AFFAIRS IN THE MIDDLE COLONIES IN 1755.

THE EFFECT OF BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT, AND OF JOHNSON'S VICTORY OVER DIESKAU; PARTY DISSENSIONS IN MARYLAND AND PENNSYLVANIA.

BY DANIEL DULANY.

[Several years ago, Mr. Oswald Tilghman, of Easton, Maryland, discovered the following "News-Letter," written by Mr. Dulany. It is a fine specimen of that class of letter writing which the Telegraph, the Printing Press, and other modern improvements will soon cause to be numbered among the "Lost Arts."

Before the era of newspapers and pamphlets, letters like that of Mr. Dulany were seldom reserved for the eyes of those alone to whom they were addressed, but received a wider circulation. Thus the views of prominent persons were disseminated, and commented upon by their associates, and the letters themselves not unfrequently copied.

The one we print was found among the papers of Charles Carroll, "Barrister," as he was called, to distinguish him from Charles Carroll of Carrollton. The barrister married a daughter of the Hon. Matthew Tilghman, Mr. Oswald Tilghman's great-grandaunt.

The views of one so eminent as Daniel Dulany, of the condition of the Colonies at such a critical period in their history as 1755, are deserving of no small weight, but it must be borne in mind in reading his arraignment of the Quakers in the Assembly of Pa., that it was written under circumstances that would have made it difficult for one, better acquainted with the tenets of the Friends than it was the fortune of Mr. Dulany to be, to do justice to their motives.

The letter treats very fully of Braddock's Expedition and Defeat, a theme it would appear of lasting interest from the continued demand for the history of it written by the late Winthrop Sargent, and published by the Historical Society.—ED.]

ANNAPOLIS, 9th Dec. 1755.

DEAR SIR:—

As the critical situation we are in, and your connections with this place, will, I presume, recommend to you any intelligence from hence, however imperfect, and as I have the strongest inclination to cultivate an acquaintance I found so much pleasure in, I have set myself down to scribble to you

a long letter, which I am sure you'll at least excuse for the subject and motive.

We, who were scarcely known out of our own country, have now the eyes of all Europe turned upon us, as our importance begins to be understood. Perhaps in less than a century, the ministers may know that we inhabit part of a vast continent, and the rural gentry hear that we are not all black, that we live in houses, speak English, wear clothes, and have some faint notions of Christianity.

Have you any cows, or horses in Maryland, sir? is a question I have been often asked, and when I have answered in the affirmative, the reply has been, Oh! Oh! you do not get them from Old England then! But it is no wonder that such a question shou'd be asked twenty miles from London, when a certain committee during the application for the Salt Bill were wise enough to ask—Have you any rivers? Pray, how many? Have you any fish in them? Pray, how many? Well, pray tell us, did you ever kill any fish in passing any of your rivers as you call them? and if the answer happen to be in the affirmative, which it might be, and be very true, the witness was certainly dismissed. What man of prudence would venture to tell an English fox-hunter that there are some among us who hunt fish on horseback?[1] But yet, perhaps, this would be as easily believed, as that one set of people could be so infatuated as to declare against the right of self-defence, when barbarians the most cruel and merciless were in the heart of their country, or that another should be so tenacious of what they call Privilege as to expose themselves an easy prey to rapacious invaders, or many others their lives, as has really happened. To you who know what our politicks have been, I dare to write, but only to you, or such as you, in whom I may expect to raise some admiration at the extremity of our folly and distractions, but as you have seen the symptoms of them, I may expect some belief.

[1] In 1856 I witnessed twenty or more men on horseback, with flambeaux and spears, fishing in the James River, about one hundred miles above Richmond.—T. W.

When the English troops arrived at Alexandria,[1] having heard much of their gallant appearance, I was led by curiosity to pay them a visit; but I had not been long in the place before I had too much reason to apprehend an unhappy issue to the expedition. The greatest animosity appeared among some of the principal officers. I heard of young men being favorites, and of others, whose rank and age and character entitled them to respect, being in disgrace, and kept at a distance. As there always will be attachments from personal regard, or considerations of interest in every army, it can rarely happen that any animosity among officers of rank will be exclusively confined to themselves—it soon becomes contagious, even private men catch the disease. When the two regiments left Alexandria, they took different routes,[2] Halkett's[3] through Virginia, and Dunbar's[4] through this Province. With all the care and prudence in the world, the march of the troops could not but prove burthensome. No magazines of provisions had been established, and the counties being but thinly and poorly settled, were but little able to supply those necessaries and conveniences the troops might want. Many irregularities

[1] The house occupied by Gen. Braddock was the residence of Col. John Carlyle,* who tendered it for the General's use. It was built by Col. Carlyle, and is still standing, but in front of it modern buildings have been constructed that conceal it from those who pass along the street. Its site adjoins that of the Mansion House, which is at the corner of Fairfax and Cameron Streets. These names are yet preserved, and are historical for the Fairfaxes are the Barons of Cameron in the Peerage of Scotland. The family has continued its residence in this country; the present Lord Fairfax residing in Maryland. At Col. Carlyle's house was a young colored servant girl, named Penny, to whom Gen. Braddock, on leaving, said, "You are only a penny now, but I hope on my return you will be two pence." And this is his only saying that is remembered.—T. W.

[2] The routes are still called by the people of the country "Braddock's Roads."—T. W.

[3] Sir Peter Halkett, Colonel of the 44th Regt., who was killed at the Defeat of Braddock, see *History of Braddock's Expedition*, by Winthrop Sargent, p. 294.

[4] Col. Dunbar, of the 48th Regt. He succeeded Braddock in the command of the expedition.

* Not Carey, as stated in Lossing's *Mount Vernon and its Associations.*

were committed by the troops in this Province, which nothing can excuse—our people were treated as slaves, and as arrogance unchecked knows no bounds, the military soon silenced the civil power, property became dependent on the moderation of a licentious soldiery triumphing over the sanction of laws, and the authority of magistracy. Soon after the General's arrival at Fredericktown, orders were issued to the recruiting officers to enlist all able-bodied men, servants not excepted. These orders were punctually executed by the officers of Dunbar's Regiment, to the great injury and oppression of many poor people, whose livelihood depended in great measure upon their property in their servants.

We had but one recruiting officer from Halkett's Regiment, and it is remarkable that he did not enlist, or offer to enlist, one servant, and I have been informed that the few servants who were enlisted in Virginia in pursuance of these orders by the officers of Halkett's Regiment, were discharged by the Colonel upon the application of the masters, and such was the prudence and humanity of that worthy gentleman, and Lieutenant-Col. Gage, that every one in Virginia is satisfied.[1] No more inconvenience was suffered by the march of that regiment, than such a body of men must necessarily occasion in a young and thinly-settled country. It is doing Sir Peter Halkett's memory but mere justice, to say that his good sense, courteous behavior, and benevolence deservedly gained him universal esteem among us, and that it is more than probable if his advice had had the influence it merited, the most disgraceful and scandalous defeat that ever was heard of, would have been prevented. We all wish that Mr. Gage's merit may be rewarded by his being appointed to succeed his late worthy colonel.

[1] To those of our readers who only associate the name of Gage with the troubles at Boston, and the siege of that Town, it may be of interest to know that his services in America were long and valuable. He was under Amherst in the expedition against Ticonderoga, was made Maj.-Gen. in 1761, and Gov. of Montreal. Succeeded Amherst as Commander of the British troops in America in 1763. and was made Lieut.-Gen in 1770. He married. Dec. 1758, Margaret, daughter of Peter Kemble, President of the Council of N. J.

General Braddock came to us with the character of a brave and experienced officer. His personal courage none can doubt of, and had his favorites been men of more experience and judgment, he might have gathered laurels where he and his army were cruelly butchered. He was too much directed by some hot-bloods about him, whose preferment depending upon the taking of Fort Du Quesne, they pushed him on, and inflamed his natural temerity. He was fatally persuaded to believe that his very appearance would vanquish the foe, and that he would have it in his power to say, *veni*, *vidi*, *vici*.

The plan for the campaign was framed by Mr. Shirley,[1] and with so much prudence, that there was the greatest reason to hope from it a lasting security to our Colonies. The scheme was to attack the enemy in four different places at the same time, in Nova Scotia, at Fort Du Quesne, Niagara, and Crown Point, and had it been as successfully executed on Mr. Braddock's part as it was in Nova Scotia, he would have had such a body of troops under his command, that, in case of a rupture with France, might well have alarmed all Canada. Shirley was obliged to attend the General at Alexandria to propose his plan. No steps could be taken to the northward, except in regard to Nova Scotia, towards carrying it into execution, till it had received the General's approbation, and when it did, Shirley was to return home, his and Pepperell's[2] Regiments were to be completed, the New England Troops to be assembled under Johnson, and provided with all necessaries, contracts to be made, magazines erected, provisions collected, batteaux built, in short everything to be prepared to the Northward. No one imagined that Braddock would march from

[1] One of the ablest of the Colonial Governors of Massachusetts. He planned the expedition against Cape Breton in 1745, and at the time Mr. Dulany wrote was Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in N. A. In 1759 he was made Lt.-Gen. His son was Secretary to Braddock, and was killed on the 8th of July, 1755.—*Drake.*

Mr. Bancroft states that Shirley was "a worn-out barrister, who knew nothing of war."

[2] See *Life of Sir William Pepperell. Bart., the only native of New England who was created a Baronet during our connection with the Mother Country.* By Usher Parsons, Boston, 1856.

Fort Cumberland to Fort Du Quesne through an inhospitable wilderness, over mountains, and through a thousand passes without the utmost caution, without building one fort, erecting one magazine, or taking one measure for preserving a communication with the country from whence he was to be supplied with provisions. But he unhappily did, and was severely punished for his imprudence. When the news of Braddock's defeat reached Mr. Shirley, he assured the officers, as it is said, that it could not be true, for the plan agreed upon was such as that Mr. Braddock could not be so far advanced. This blow disconcerted all their measures to the Northward. When the General was killed, and all his papers had fallen into the hands of the enemy, who was to find provisions, who to perform contracts?

The ardor of the New England men was abated. Johnson, instead of six thousand men, had not half that number; and they lived from hand to mouth. Mr. Shirley could not attack Niagara, the enemy were too strong there, when they were reinforced from Fort Du Quesne. Dunbar (some say by the General's orders) in the first panic fell lustily to work in destroying several pieces of artillery, and all the provisions, ammunition, and waggons that might in the least impede a hasty retreat, and one would think he did not think himself safe at Wills's Creek, for he soon left that place, and lest he should not have men enough to share with him the disgrace of a precipitate flight, he took with him the independent companies that had been ordered before the arrival of General Braddock to the defence of our frontiers, and were subject to the direction of Governor Dinwiddie.[1] It seems he now pretends that he had orders from Mr. Shirley to march with all expedition to the Northward. 'Tis true he had such orders, but he marched before he received them, and he had no orders to take with him the Caroline Independent Companies, and leave us naked, and exposed to the fury of the Indians, who have since his flight cut off many hundred people, and are daily perpetrating the most horrid cruelties. The Provincial

[1] Of Virginia.

troops had suffered so much in the action, that few who were in it returned to Fort Cumberland, and those who did, had been so severely harassed that one-half of them deserted, for which they had some pretence, as they were promised a discharge as soon as the expedition was over, which had been the case with a vengeance. However quick Dunbar was in his march to Philadelphia, he was in no great hurry to leave it.

The list of the killed published here, fell greatly short of the real number, by omitting the Provincial troops who were slain. Whether this omission was owing to the lists being taken from the returns of the two regiments, or to an opinion that the loss of Americans was not worth notice, I don't know.

We had a long and elaborate account of the action published here, which was wrote by Orme, one of the aids-de camp, and Col. Gage thought proper to contradict it in an advertisement he published. In that part of it where Orme says that the main body marched up to sustain the advanced party, who falling back put the main body into such confusion as rendered all the endeavors of the officers to form them ineffectual, Col. Gage says in his advertisement that this is a mistake, for that the main body were in confusion before they came up, and I believe it is very true that they were so, for it is allowed on all hands that they never were formed after they had passed the river Monongahela, and it was an odd conduct to make men march up to sustain a body that was attacked, and only to think of forming when they had marched up. Before the army had arrived at the river, where the men ought to have encamped, and waited till they were refreshed, their spirits recruited, and Dunbar could come up, Col. Gage was sent before with two pieces of cannon to take possession of Frazier's plantation, in order to secure the pass where the army was attacked. This was executed with great prudence and success. When this party got to the river, they suspected the enemy had just passed it, from the muddiness of the water, and of this they saw evident signs, when they had passed the river, in the moisture of the earth, and the

impressions of many feet. Mr. Gage drew up his men in order of battle, and marched without opposition to Frazier's house, which he took possession of, without doubt in the view of the enemy. He then sent to the General an account of what he had observed and done, and desired further orders, but the messenger returned without any answer. In this situation he, therefore, remained till the main body had passed the river, and was not far from him, when he received orders to fall into a long march, as the main body were, and in this march he was attacked, and the main body being hastened to sustain him without order, or disposition, the whole army had the appearance at once of a tumultuary mob. Our men shot one another, which, with the fire of the enemy, soon made a great slaughter. If any of the men ventured to ascend the eminence, which was often attempted by the Virginians, they were exposed to a double fire, from the enemy in front, and our men behind. The enemy, who could hardly trust to what they saw, were upon the point of leaving us, and ceased firing for some minutes, but our men remaining in the same confusion, and not advancing a step, and wildly firing without seeing a creature to fire at, they sounded the charge, and being sheltered by trees, and having a fair mark to shoot at, the action (if such it may be called) continued till two-thirds of our army were killed or wounded, and those who were able to run away, except a small guard in the rear, had expended all their ammunition—the enemy pursued to the river without doing much execution, and then returned and put to death all the wounded who were left in the field, except one person, who, 'tis said, they spared. What mercy can those hell-hounds expect should they, in their turn, be vanquished. I hope they will meet with as much as they deserve, and no more. 'Tis a cruel method of war which excludes all humanity to the vanquished, but *non lex equior ulla est.*

Quam necis artifices arte sua.

Johnson treated[1] his prisoners with the greatest humanity,

[1] Subsequently Sir William Johnson, who, in 1755, was commissioned Maj.-Gen., and given command of the expedition against Crown Point. For

but I believe the officers who were in the defeat at Mononga-hela are too much enraged at the infernal cruelty of the French to applaud his conduct. I heard a little story to the North-ward which seems an evidence of this. A gentleman there expressed his surprise that Johnson had not taken more prisoners, and an officer of considerable rank in Braddock's Expedition said, with some emotion, that he was surprised Mr. Johnson had taken one.

It might seem strange that Mr. Braddock marched out with no more than sixty or seventy Indians. 'Tis said he might have been joined by five or six hundred of them, had he thought their friendship worth conciliating, and taken prompt measures for that purpose. It is said they had declared their attachment to the English, and that they were willing to attend the army. Upon these occasions the Indians expect some ceremony, and always require presents. One Gist,[1] a young man who had been a dabbler in the Indian trade, in which his father had been more largely concerned, was sent to invite the Indians to the camp, and notwithstanding they did not like the manner of the invitation, five hundred of them were preparing to return with him, but were prevented by the remonstrance of one Parris, who traded and had great influence with them. He represented to them that it did not appear Gist had any commission to invite them, but from what he said—that he had brought with him no presents, that it was improbable one so young, and of such little account should be sent alone upon a business of such great importance. That he did not doubt but that the English would be glad to see them, and would reward them well, if they would wait a little, but that they must expect only a slender

his victory over Dieskau at Lake George, Sept. 8th, 1755, he received the thanks of Parliament, £5000, and a baronetcy.—*Life and Times of Sir William Johnson, Bart.*, by Wm. L. Stone, Albany, 1865.

[1] It is hard to say which one of the Gists is here referred to. Christopher Gist, the son of Richard, accompanied Washington to the Ohio in 1753. His father, Richard, was one of the surveyors employed to lay out the original Baltimore town, and may have been the elder of the name mentioned by Mr. Dulany. Christopher and his two sons were with Braddock.—*Biographical Sketches of Distinguished Marylanders*, Esmeralda Boyle, Balt., 1877.

reward, if they returned with Gist—that he would assume the merit of their services, and receive the reward of them. Upon these remonstrances they refused to go with Gist, and told him they expected to be treated with, and to see some person of authority, upon whose promises they might rely. I never heard that a second message was sent to these Indians, but that a reward was offered for the apprehension of Parris, though perhaps it would have been more prudent to have made him a present, as with his assistance the Indians might have been more easily managed.

Of the sixty or seventy Indians who went out with Braddock, only thirteen attended him to the Monongahela. What was the reason of their defection, I have not certainly heard.[1]

As Orme is gone home, I take it for granted his account of the action will be published there, and, perhaps, may give the public a different impression of the conduct of the expedition than a disinterested and candid narrative would do. He absolutely governed Mr. Braddock, and his influence and insolence became so notorious that there is hardly any one in the army who cannot give instances of them. The General was a man of violent passions, of approved courage, and of clear honesty; and, as it generally happens to men of his cast, very susceptible of obstinate resentment, and implicit confidence. His confidence in Orme was such, as that his favorite could make him smile or frown upon whom he pleased. Men of experience and military pretensions could not court the patronage of a youngster, and it was his ambition, as well as interest, to guard all the avenues to the General's esteem or countenance, that no one might pass without his permission. His insolence (the inseparable vice of exalted worthlessness) increased with his influence, and every one was sure to suffer the former, who would not court the latter, and, therefore, as there is a pride in real merit which will not stoop for its reward to mean compliances, the more merit a man had the less countenance he received. The arrogance of this upstart was monstrous. He not only lorded it over and insulted the mili-

[1] Mr. Sargent, in his *History of the Braddock Expedition*, thinks that the blame rested with Gov. Dinwiddie, *see* pp. 168–69.

tary men, but the country, and people of it wherever he went were calumniated, or oppressed by him. His influence all America has reason to deplore, his insolence to resent, and his enmity to fear, if he has yet the power of hurting us by his representations, for nothing makes a man of a bad disposition so implacable, as the consideration of his having injured others without cause.[1]

The most scandalous and disgraceful defeat that ever was heard of, the defeat of an army of regular troops, well appointed, with a good train of artillery, every instrument of war, all the necessaries and conveniences which could reasonably be desired, by five or six hundred men, one-half of whom were naked barbarians, without one piece of artillery, or any advantage but of being possessed of a little eminence, and sheltered by growing trees, which might have been gained in a few minutes, was owing to the accursed influence of this man.

In the account he gave of this action, he did all he could to excuse the General, which, indeed, was necessary to vindicate himself. Every one knew there was a fault somewhere, and his business was to impute it where the end might be answered, and the least contradiction given. The officers all behaved as well as men in their circumstances could do. Had the blame been thrown upon them, they would have wiped off the aspersion, and probably recriminated. They were, therefore, to be represented as attacking the enemy in a body and singly, to animate the men by their example; but the men would not do their duty, listen to any exhortations, or

[1] From a note in Sargent's *History of Braddock's Expedition*, p. 283, it appears that the opinion expressed by Mr. Dulany, of Capt. Robt. Orme, does not agree with that formed by others with whom he came in contact. Shirly wrote that Orme was honest and capable, and thought it fortunate that the General was so much under his influence, and that when he returned to England he would put the affairs of the western campaign in a true light. Orme's commission was that of Lieutenant in the Coldstream Guards. He was wounded at the same time Braddock was killed, but recovered and returned to England. He died Feb. 1781. Mr. Sargent thought he was connected with the family of the same name, who seem through continued generations to be identified with the East India Company.

obey any command—even the officers themselves laugh at the fulsome flattery. I believe, since I have seen and conversed with many officers who were in the action, that the men did not behave so well as might have been wished, and that it was owing to the extreme and unnecessary hardships and fatigue they had suffered, to their being almost starved in the midst of plenty, to their not being formed, to their diffidence of the abilities of those who advised the General, and to the little weight they observed those officers to have whom they thought the most capable.

After this defeat, and the precipitate flight of Dunbar to Philadelphia,[1] the enemy fell upon the Provinces of Virginia and Maryland, and have burnt and destroyed a great many plantations, and murdered the families upon them. All the plantations in this Province (except two or three) for near one hundred miles to the Eastward of Fort Cumberland have been destroyed, or deserted. The people of Pennsylvania had flattered themselves that the Indians would spare them, and, indeed, it was so late before they were attacked, that many people suspected they had some grounds to rely upon the mercy of the savages;[2] but the Virginians having granted a large sum of money for the defence of their country, and the Indians having laid waste so much of that and this country, and no measures having been taken in Pennsylvania for the defence of the back people, they have been attacked also, and, as they were quite defenceless, have suffered extremely.

Political disputes have run as high in Pennsylvania as here, and have been managed with greater bitterness against their Governor.[3] It seems he was suspected of being in an interest against the Quakers before his appointment to the government of that Province, and it having been reported that he was the author of a piece called the Present State of Penn-

[1] "On Friday, y^e^ 29th of Augt. 1755, came to Philada. with the remainder of Sr Peter Halket's and his own Regimts., and of the 3 Independant Companys."—See Memorandum by Robt. Strettell, Penna. Mag., vol. ii. p. 110.

[2] The Indian incursions against the settlements in Pennsylvania did not take place until the month of Oct. 1755.

[3] Robert Hunter Morris.

sylvania, in which the prevailing party of that Province have been roughly enough handled,[1] he soon became extremely obnoxious to the Quakers, who are, I believe, the most teasing and pertinacious people upon earth. In the messages from the Lower House he has been most scurrilously and contemptuously treated, all the ill-language they could collect has been used by them to express the most malevolent and malicious reflections. Franklin is said to have had a principal hand in these compositions, who is, from a private difference, a most malignant enemy to the Governor.

The Quakers had managed the Germans, and dissenters of all denominations with so much address, as to attach them to their party.[2] The Germans, who had felt all the galling oppressions of a military government in Europe, were glad to be governed by the professors of such pacifick principles, as the best security against the evils which had driven them from their own country, and the dread of an established clergy animated all dissenters with favorable sentiments towards the Quakers, whom they knew to be invincible enemies to such an establishment. But as property is the great idol of mankind, however they may profess their regard for liberty and religion, when the Indians fell upon Pennsylvania, and had penetrated into the best-settled parts of that Province, the Germans complained that no measures had been taken to avert this calamity, cried out for protection, demanded arms, and finding the necessity of some legal means to compel men to join in the defence of their property, signed an application for a Militia Law. The Quakers on their part prepared an address intimating in an obscure and canting style (as their manner is), that even money ought not to be granted, which might, in the application of it, show that they rather depended upon the arm of the flesh, than the interposition of Providence. This address had been presented, and lain in the Lower House for some time before the purport of it was publicly known. However, a copy of it having, by some means

[1] It was written by the Rev. William Smith, D.D.

[2] The true cause of this affiliation was that the Mennonites and other denominations among the Germans were averse to bearing arms.

or other, got abroad (for which the Lower House discharged their door-keeper), and the members having expressed their dislike of the style of the application for a militia law, every one was enraged against the Quakers. The magistrates could hardly protect them from the insults of the mob. A number of people had gathered together at Philadelphia, and demanded protection in such manner as threatened outrage if it was denied, and, indeed, all the symptoms of a civil convulsion appeared. The Assembly were greatly embarrassed—an effectual Militia Law would have destroyed all Quakerism, and the multitude were to be soothed. They did not know how to give up the point of taxing the Proprietary estate (which in reason and justice ought certainly to be taxed), yet nothing could be done without giving money. The affair of the Militia Law being the most important, consideration was for a long time postponed. They fell upon an expedient to obviate the difficulty they were under, in regard to the Money Bill. They inserted a clause in it by which the propriety of taxing the estate of the Penns was left to the decision of the Crown. This appeal was an extraordinary step, but, as it was to the Throne, the Governor could not speak plainly his objection to it, though it did in effect give up the whole legislative power to the Crown, and implied an admission that this power, when the immediate safety of the people required it, could not be exercised according to the terms of the charter, and seemed to indicate a defect in the constitution requiring a remedy. Whilst this matter was depending, the embarrassment the Governor and the Assembly were equally under, was removed by the receipt of an instruction from Messrs. Penn, by which they bound themselves, though not in the way desired by the Assembly, to contribute the sum of £5000 towards the defence of the Province. As this sum was ten times more than a taxation of this estate would have produced, the point in dispute was effectually settled, and a Bill for £60,000 passed—a Militia Law (such as it is) was also sent up and passed. The preamble to this Act shows what difficulties the Assembly were under.

The behavior of the Quakers, and the pressing messages of

the Governor sent them to comply with the reasonable requisitions of the people, have gained him much popularity, and the multitude are now as loud in his praise as they were before in their clamours against his measures. They suppose that his representations induced the Messrs. Penn to contribute so largely to the defence of the Province. The Quakers, who are possessed of what Swift calls the most useful talent in politics, on their part, insinuate that this instruction had arrived long before he communicated it—that he post-dated the copy he sent the Lower House, and would have interrupted this munificence to the Province, if he could have prevailed upon the Assembly to have given up the point, which for the interest of the people they had so obstinately maintained.

God knows when there will be an end to our disputes. The late subject of contention between the Government[1] and the Lower House of Assembly has been the ordinary licenses,[2] and I believe the whole Province have such an opinion of the conduct of their representatives in insisting upon this matter, that they would hardly consent that it should be waived, if the enemy were in the heart of the Province.

When it first was proposed to apply the revenue arising from ordinary Licences as a mean to sink the last item of money the Assembly offered, I think it was so plainly improper, and might have been so clearly shown that the former incumbrances upon it were so heavy, as that nothing could be expected from it towards sinking the money in a reasonable time, that the Lower House might have been prevailed upon to have waived it, but the Upper House insisting that it belonged to the Proprietary's (*rational*) Prerogative, the whole dispute turned upon that, and though it was most egregiously mismanaged on both sides, yet towards the conclusion of the controversy, some of the members having got into their hands the case of Inns Hutt, 100, and Dr. Carroll's informing the House that he had seen the Secretary's commission in the Provincial office (of a date subsequent to the first dispute about the ordinary Licenses) in which there was a grant of or-

[1] Of Maryland. [2] Tavern Licenses?

dinary Licenses to that officer, the uproar was so great that the House had very near prorogued itself. They voted this grant illegal, a monopoly, etc., and in an address to the Governor, declared they would not be wearied out by frequent meetings, and desired that he would not call them together till he found the Council in a disposition to act with candor, and do justice to the country. All this happened before Braddock's defeat, and the Assembly have not met since, which I can't but think an ill-advised step. The Indians have laid waste the country, murdered many of the inhabitants, who, having no arms or ammunition, could not resist them. The Government can't protect the country without the concurrence of the Assembly—they have had no opportunity of giving it. Perhaps had they met, nothing would have been done, but that would have been their fault. If they have been wrong in contending for the ordinary Licenses, as they have not had an opportunity of taking the proper measures for the defence of the country, they may say what they please—that they would have joined in any measures, and waived all disputes, that, however they might have insisted upon what they apprehended to be their right when Braddock's Army protected the country, they would have given up small matters when their country was attacked.

Nothing has been done for the defence of the Province but by private subscription, principally among the merchants, and in two or three counties, and the sum raised thereby was so small as to be of very little service, and is now nearly expended; and the burthen and inequality of this sort of contribution is so great, that, I believe, it will not be solicited a second time.

The Proprietary has lost a vast country by our unhappy disputes, and the business of the Land Office has greatly decreased, and if some method is not speedily fallen upon to settle matters, I can foresee that this Province will be brought to the greatest distress, and the Proprietary's revenue considerably diminished. A subscription paper is handed about for the support of an agent, and 'tis said that a large sum is already subscribed. I believe the people don't know

whom to send home upon this business, and that if they could get a person to undertake it in whom they could confide, they would be more liberal on this occasion than ever they were in any instance. Everything tends to confusion, and the bitterness and malignity of party is such that I wish myself somewhere else.

Dr. Carroll is dead, and died as he lived, an extraordinary man. He took no other sustenance for a considerable time before he died than spring water. He has directed his son by his will to plead the Act of Limitation to all claims that may be barred by it, and after declaring himself a sound Protestant, and a true member of the Church of England, as by law established, he concludes thus: "Now to God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost be all Honor and Glory, forever and ever, Amen."

The clamors against Popery are as loud as ever. One of our priests had like to have fallen into the hands of the army when the troops were at Alexandria, and if he had, I believe he would have been hanged as a spy. The man had been sauntering about in the camp, and some one from Maryland whispered that he was a priest. This was soon noised about, and the priest thinking himself not very safe on the South side of the Potomack, made all the haste he could to a boat which was waiting for him, and had but just put off, when he discovered a party of soldiers running to the place where the boat had waited for him. The officer who commanded this party called to the boatsmen to return, but the priest prevailed upon them to make all the expedition they could to the opposite shore. Something ought to be done in regard to these priests, but the present heat and ferment of the times are such that nothing short of a total extermination of them, and an absolute confiscation of all their estates will be heard of with temper, and that the Romish laity might be laid under some restraints in the education of their children is greatly to be wished, but all moderate and reasonable propositions for this end would now be at once rejected.

It has always been my opinion that the Romish laity ought inviolably to enjoy their property, and the full benefit and

participation of those laws by which the subject is protected, and also to be indulged in a modest and peaceable exercise of their religion, and that, therefore, in imposing restrictions on their clergy, care ought to be taken not absolutely to exclude them, though the greatest care ought to be taken lest they (as they are wont to do) transgress the proper business of their functions by subjecting them to such restraints as may deter them from a conduct tending to the mischief and disturbance of the society. The extreme severities some among us propose are, I think, unnecessary, and, therefore, persecuting, and inconsistent with that lenity and benevolence which undepraved humanity, and the mild religion we profess, inspire and enjoin. There is, in the nature of things, an essential difference between right and wrong, which no power on earth can alter, however it may enforce an acquiescence and submission to its mandates, and words may be abused to stigmatize justice, or varnish over and sanctify oppression. Persecution is so horrible that human nature starts at it, even the bloody Inquisitor, whose occupation is murder, disavows persecution, and usurps the venerable name of religion to palliate his infernal cruelty, whilst he butchers and mangles the unhappy victim to it. But why is this persecution, and not every deprivation of property, life, or liberty in its degree persecution, which necessity, the preservation, or the welfare of the community does not indispensably demand?

If the defeat of Braddock was unexpected, the defeat of Dieskau was as little apprehended by the enemy. Had the enemy succeeded in this attack, New York must have been in the most imminent danger—Albany would have been reduced, Oswego fallen, of course, and Shirley's Army have surrendered at discretion. When this defeat happened, Dunbar was at, or in his flight to Philadelphia. Indeed, if he had been at New York, I confess my expectations from his conduct are not such as to incline me to think he would have been of any great service, had that Province needed his assistance.

I believe he would not be sorry to be recalled, nor would any one else, especially if he were to be succeeded in his command

by his Lt.-Col., Mr. Burton, who is a man of good sense, and on all hands acknowledged to be an excellent officer, though his contempt for the enemy, and eagerness to get a regiment ('tis said) contributed somewhat to the late sad disaster. 'Tis a pity he saw his fault so late, that all a man of courage could do proved of very little effect.

There has not yet been any account published of Johnson's victory which may be depended upon. I am but just returned from New York, whither I went to accompany our Governor at his request, and by all that I could collect there, the New England people did not behave so well as might have been wished, and nothing but the cowardice of the enemy saved them. Mr. Johnson having received intelligence that a large body of the enemy were in motion, sent out a party of one thousand or twelve hundred men under the command of the Colonels Williams and Whiting to reconnoitre them. The enemy, also, having intelligence of the march of this body of men, formed in an ambuscade, into which our people would have inevitable fallen, had it not been for the following extraordinary accident. Among this party under the command of Williams and Whiting were several of the Mohocks, as there were of the Potmewagoes among the French. When our Indians who were in front were within gunshot of the French Indians, they discovered themselves by rising up, and discharging their pieces in the air in token of friendship to our Indians, and immediately proposed to them to withdraw themselves from the English and French Troops, and leave it to them to decide their own quarrel. To this proposition many of the Mohocks began to listen, when old Hendrick fearing the consequence, if this treaty was not interrupted, immediately shot one of the French Indians, and thus the engagement began. Many of our people ran away as soon as the Indians discovered themselves, but another party being sent from the camp to support Williams and Whiting, they maintained a sort of running fight back again to the camp, the French pursuing them in order of battle. Had the enemy not been discovered by the above accident, our people must have been surrounded and cut to pieces, for the enemy were

three to their one. As the fugitives who first returned to the camp magnified greatly the number of the enemy, and our people had been very roughly handled, there was a great consternation there when the enemy began their attack, and had they pushed it with vigor they must have prevailed, but the Indians and Canadians being greatly alarmed at the noise of our cannon, soon broke and betook themselves to trees for shelter, from whence they fired with very little effect, as they were at a great distance. This gave our people some spirits, and they had in reality none but the French regulars to engage, with the advantage of some artillery, and a good breastwork. However, as they were not used to a regular platoon fire, I am inclined to believe that if the regulars had not been seized with a panick, they alone would have defeated us. Mr. Johnson behaved extremely well, and did all that could be expected from a man of spirit unacquainted with the art of war. Lyman hid himself, and many other of the officers did not show that resolution so requisite in a soldier. Johnson had about twenty-two hundred men, and Dieskau three thousand, of whom eight hundred at least were regulars. The victory consisted in repelling the enemy. We lost three hundred men, and they about two hundred. Our loss within the breastwork was trifling—most of our men were killed in the party under the command of Williams and Whiting. We took but few prisoners, among whom was Dieskau, the General, who is now at New York, languishing under an incurable wound.[1] No people puff more than the New England men. In one of their accounts 'tis said that Dieskau paid them compliments for their gallant behavior, but that was so far from the case, that I have been well-informed he is extremely mortified by the defeat, and has declared that if he had had three hundred regulars to have stood by him, he might easily have forced Johnson's camp. He might easily have escaped, and his motive for not going off is somewhat mysterious. Some say he resented the behavior of his men so much, as to declare to them, when they were running away, that if they did fly, they should leave him. Perhaps he tried

[1] Baron Dieskau recovered and returned to France. He died Sept. 8, 1767.

this expedient to recall his men to their duty, which not succeeding, he was taken prisoner. He might without all doubt have escaped, for the wound that now threatens his life he did not receive till some time after the action. He had received in the action a slight wound in his arm, but when his men had betaken themselves to a precipitate flight, he laid himself upon the ground, and was first met with by a party of our Indians to whom he gave his purse, and they passed him without doing, or offering to him the least injury. Afterwards a party of seven men came up to him, among whom was a French deserter, and when he was taking his sword in the scabbard out of the belt, to deliver it up to them, the Frenchman shot him. This, Dieskau complained of to Johnson, who sent for the man and examined him, and he alleged in his excuse that he apprehended Dieskau intended to draw his sword, and stand upon his defence.

One of his Aids-de-camp is also a prisoner at New York. He calls himself Monsieur Obrien, but 'tis strongly suspected that he was called Paddy O'Brien in his own country.

I wish that the ill-success of Mr. Braddock, and the defeat of Dieskau, may not induce the ministry into the mistake that regulars are of no great use in our woods, than which nothing can be more detrimental to America. Should we not have the assistance of regulars from England, I am afraid we shall be little able to withstand the French, who have sent in, and will continue every year to pour troops from old France into America.

I am now called upon for my letters, which obliges me to break off sooner than I otherwise should have done, though when I come to turn over the number of sheets I have scribbled, I fear you may wish I had done it long ago.

Please to make my compliments to Mr. and Mrs. Anderson. I intended to write to Mrs. Anderson, but have trespassed so much upon your patience that I have not time.

I am, Sir, Your Most Ob't & Humble Servant,

DAN'L DULANY, 9th Dec. 1755.

[A Postscript to this letter, more social in its character than the letter itself, will be printed in our next number.—Ed.]

JOHN TALBOT, THE FIRST BISHOP IN NORTH AMERICA.

Read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Monday Evening, Nov. 11, 1878.

BY THE REV. GEORGE MORGAN HILLS, D. D.

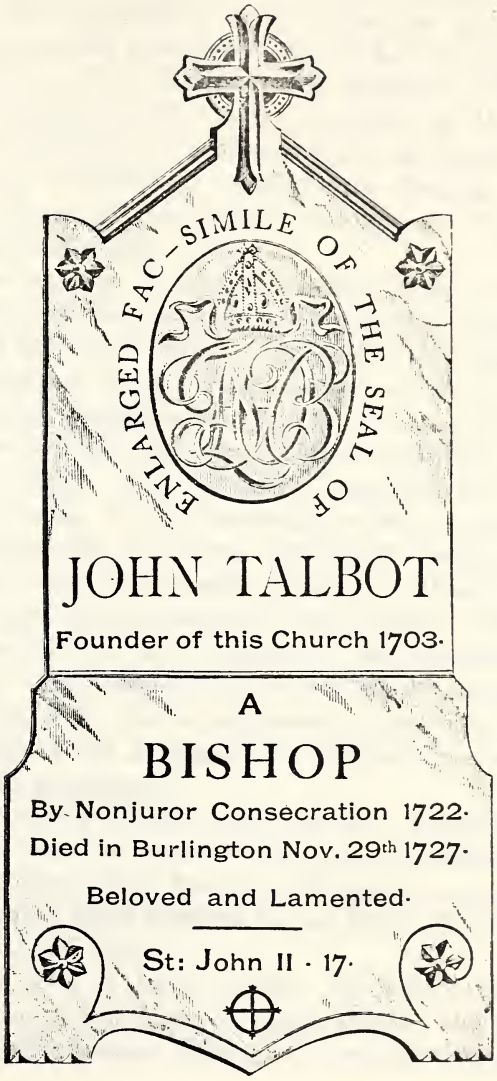
Some three years since[1] I discovered in the office of the Register of Wills in this city, an instrument which was admitted to probate an hundred and fifty years ago, having for its seal a mitre, and, in monogram, all the letters of the name "JOHN TALBOT." This is a culminating evidence of what has been wrapped in mysterious obscurity. Tradition, indeed, had vaguely whispered that there were Bishops in America in Colonial times. Documentary proofs of this were brought from Great Britain to this country in 1836, by the late Rev. Dr. Francis L. Hawks. Percival, in the appendix to his work entitled, "An Apology for the Doctrine of Apostolical Succession," gives a table of English Nonjuring Bishops, naming among them Welton and Talbot, with the remark, "They both went to the Colonies in North America (the former to Philadelphia), and exercised the Episcopal functions." Lathbury, in his "History of the Nonjurors," makes a similar, though less definite statement. Hawkins's "Mission of the Church of England," and Anderson's "History of the Church of England in the Colonies," both enlarge upon it, taking, of course, the Establishmentarian view.

Encouraged by the invitation of this distinguished Society, and with the further materials in my possession,[2] I shall attempt a monograph of him whom chronological accuracy must designate as "The First Bishop in North America."

JOHN TALBOT, Master of Arts, and Priest of the Church of England, had been in the Colony of Virginia as early as

[1] September, 1875.

[2] Chiefly, the Lambeth, Fulham, and S. P. G. MSS., copied *in extenso* in *History of the Church in Burlington, New Jersey.*


ENLARGED FAC-SIMILE OF THE SEAL OF
JOHN TALBOT
Founder of this Church 1703·
A
BISHOP
By Nonjuror Consecration 1722·
Died in Burlington Nov. 29th 1727·
Beloved and Lamented·
St: John II · 17·

about the year 1693; but whether he was in Holy Orders at that time, or not, we cannot say. Ten years afterwards, we find him Chaplain of the ship *Centurion*, Capt. Herne, Commander, during that memorable voyage, when, on the 28th of April, 1702, she sailed from Cowes, in the Isle of Wight, bound for Boston, in New England; and freighted with a group of rare prominence, Col. Dudley, Governor of Massachusetts, Col. Povie, Deputy Governor, and Mr. Morris, afterwards Governor of New Jersey, together with the first two missionaries of the newly-incorporated "Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts."[1]

So generous were these Governors to their clerical companions, that they extended to them the hospitality of their table throughout the entire voyage. Judge Sewall's Diary, a MS. in the Library of the Historical Society of Massachusetts, says, that such deference was paid to the senior missionary that he was called upon to say Grace, although the Chaplain was on board. How intensely interesting, at this period, would be notes of the conversations between these three Colonial statesmen, and three intelligent clergymen, during that long voyage of six weeks and a day! Must they not have been largely interspersed with the political, moral, and religious condition of the Colonies, and the imperative needs of the hour? No wonder that an ardent, devout, and energetic man, like John Talbot, expressed a desire to exchange the service of the Admiralty for the harder service of the adventurous missionary.

It was a great event when that ship arrived. Prominent colonists went on board to welcome their political officials, while the two ministers of the Church of England congregation in Boston greeted their brethren in the Holy Ministry. This was on the 11th of June.

On Sunday, the 28th of June, the Rev. Mr. Talbot took his turn in preaching in the Queen's Chapel, Boston; and the journal of the senior missionary adds, in connection with this

[1] Rev. George Keith, and Rev. Patrick Gordon.

entry, "By the advice of my good Friends at Boston, and especially of Col. Joseph Dudley, Governour of Boston Colony, I chose the above-named Mr. John Talbot to be my Assistant and Associate in my Missionary Travels and Services, he having freely and kindly offered himself, and whom I freely and kindly received, and with the first occasion I wrote to the Society, praying them to allow of him to be my Fellow Companion and Associate in Travels, &c., which they accordingly did." Mr. Talbot began at once his missionary work, although his appointment by the Society bears date the 18th of September. His was a spirit which could not brook delay; and in the intervening three months much could be accomplished by those who leaped rather than ran. On the 1st of July he was present at the commencement of the College at Cambridge, Mass.; and, on the 9th, was at Lynn; and thence proceeded on an extensive missionary exploration. The tour was made on horseback, except where occasion demanded that both men and beasts should be shipped upon sloops. From twenty to fifty miles a day were thus accomplished. Churches, meeting houses, town houses, and private houses, were used for Divine Service, and the prayers of the Church of England were duly read before each sermon.

The continual change of scene, the cordial welcomes, the thronged attendance, the politeness of every Colonial Governor, the exhilarating mode of travel, the crisp air, and sweet odors of autumn, as they passed through Rhode Island, Connecticut, Long Island, and East and West Jersey kept the missionaries in high spirits. LAUS DEO APUD AMERICANOS! is the outburst of the full heart of Talbot, inscribed at the top of this page of his register, in bold and beautiful letters.

On the 5th of November, the travellers arrived in Philadelphia, and were kindly received by the two ministers, and all the Church of England people here. On the following Sunday morning, the 8th, Mr. Talbot preached in Christ Church. The congregation was so large that the building could not hold them. Many staid outside and listened.

The same week, at the instance and charge of Col. Nicholson, Governor of Virginia, the missionaries joined five other

clergymen, "in the little Town of New York," where they were a week in session, "considering of ways and means to propagate the Gospel." On the 22d, being Sunday, Mr. Talbot preached in New York, where he enjoyed the hospitality of Lord Cornbury, Governor of New York and the Jerseys. Five hundred miles of travel had now been made; and, to use Talbot's own language, "In all places where we come, we find a great ripeness and inclination amongst all sorts of people to embrace the Gospel. Even the Indians themselves have promised obedience to the Faith, as appears by a conference that my Lord Cornbury, the Governor here, has had with them at Albany. . . . If I had their language, or wherewith to maintain an Interpreter," continues the fearless Talbot, "it should be the first thing I should do, to go among the thickest of 'em."

In the same letter, after alluding to the Convocation of seven clergy, he writes, "We have great need of a Bishop here, to visit all the churches, to ordain some, to confirm others, and bless all." This expression, with scarcely any alteration, was transferred to a conspicuous position in the first report of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and has been a classic sentence, repeated in ecclesiastical accounts of the Colonies ever since.

On the 10th of the next April, Mr. Talbot writes from New Castle, "Here is little or no Government, and people in many places take the liberty to say there be three Gods, or no God, and nothing is done to them . . . . God bless Queen Anne, and defend her that she may defend the Faith; and her Faithful Councellours, if they have any piety or policy, I'm sure will take some course with these Heathens and Hereticks, for if they be let alone to take the sword (which they certainly will when they think they are strong enough), we shall perish with it, for not opposing them in due time."

When we reflect that this utterance was made seventy years before the outbreak of the American Revolution, we must credit Mr. Talbot with the ken of a prophet. Temporizing continued, with regard to the Colonies, and shameful neglect

in manning the Church. Neither the mace of the law, nor the trumpet of the Gospel was adequately employed; and the power of Britain was swept from its transatlantic Colonies, according to the minute prediction of this man of God.

For a closer insight into Mr. Talbot's character, let further extracts be cited from his correspondence.

"It grieves me much," he writes, "to see so many People here without the benefit of serving God in the wilderness. I believe I have been solicited to tarry at twenty Places, where they want much, and are able to maintain a minister, so that he should want nothing; they send to New England and call any sorry young man, purely for want of some good honest clergyman of the Church of England."

His filial piety appears like a modest flower: "Pray remember my duty and Love to my Good Mother; I hope she is alive and well, let her not want £10 per annum, as long as I have £60 coming to me." And he repeats, before a month is over, "I shall be glad to hear how all our Friends do, especially my good mother. Pray let me know where she is, and how she does, let her have *decem minas* upon my account as long as she lives."

His abundant labors are recounted in these lines, "I have sent the present state of the Church *apud Americanos* as far as we have gone; the first year from Dover, eighty miles eastward from Boston in New England, to Philadelphia in Pennsylvania; since that scheme was finished, I have gone up and down in E. and W. Jersey preaching and baptizing, and preparing the way for several Churches there. At Amboy they are going to build one, at Hopewell another, and at Shrewsbury, Coll. Morris is going to build one at his own cost and charge, and he will endow it as he says, which I don't doubt, for he is an honest Gentleman, and a member of the Honorable Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. I was at Burlington last Lady day, and after prayers we went to the Ground where they were going to build a Church, and I laid the first stone, which I hope will be none other than the House of God and Gate of Heaven to the

People." . . . "God bless this Church and let them prosper that love it. We called this Church St. Mary's, it being upon her day. January last I was at the opening of a Church at Chester; I preached the first sermon that ever was there, on Sunday, the day before the Conversion of St. Paul, and after much debate what to call it, I named it St. Paul's. This is one of the best Churches in these American Parts, and a very pleasant place; but they have no minister as yet, but Mr. Evans, of Philadelphia, officiated there once in three weeks."

He describes the soil and climate in these quaint words, "The country is a good *land* in all parts of it, bating the sudden change of Heat and Cold, which, if people be not careful, they are many times the worse for. The air is generally clear and pure. Nobody complains here of the spleen, unless he has also an evil conscience attending." His poverty, and humor withal, are shown when he says, "I am but poor at present, being robbed by a negro of all my money out of my Portmanteau; the young slut did not leave me one Token for myself, only I got the bag again. But, blessed be God, I never wanted meat nor drink, nor cloaths neither as yet; but if you don't send me some cloaths next shipping, instead of going as they do in White Hall, I shall go as the Indians do. I shall be content, let it be as it will."

The same spirit pervades the next letter: "I believe I have done the Church more service since I came hither than I would in seven years in England. Perhaps when I have been here six or seven years, I may make a Trip home to see some Friends (for they won't come to me), but then it will be *Animo Revertendi*, for I have given myself up to the service of God and his Church *apud Americanos;* and I had rather dye in the service than desert it."

He pleads for books, explanatory of the doctrine and liturgy of the Church of England, to distribute in his travels.

"I use to take a wallet full of Books, and carry them 100 miles about, and disperse them abroad, and give them to all that desired them; 'tis a comfort to the people in the Wilderness to see that somebody takes care of them. There is

a time to sow and a time to reap, which last I don't desire in this world. I might have money enough of the people in many places, but I would never take any of those that we goe to proselyte . . I resolved to work with my hands rather than they should say I was a hireling, and come for money, which they are very apt to do."

In strict correspondence with this declaration, we find in the treasurer's book where he has returned payments made to him.

The earnestness with which he pleads for a bishop, is heightened by his intelligence on the subject. "It seems the strangest thing in the world, and 'tis thought History cannot parallel it, that any place has received the Word of God so many years . . and still remain altogether in the wilderness, as sheep without a shepherd. The poor Church of America is worse off in this respect than any of her adversaries. . . . We count ourselves happy, and, indeed, so we are, under the protection and Fatherly Care of the Right Rev. Father in God, Henry, Lord Bishop of London, and we are all satisfied that we can't have a greater Friend and Patron than himself. But alas! there is such a great Gulph fixt between us, that we can't pass to him nor he to us; but may he not send a Suffragan? I believe I am sure there are a great many learned and Good men in England, and I believe also did our Gracious Queen Anne but know the necessities of her many good subjects in these parts of the world, she would allow £1000 per annum, rather than so many souls should suffer; and then it would be a hard case if there should not be found one amongst so many pastors and Doctors (*de tot millibus unus qui transiens, adjuvet nos*); meanwhile I don't doubt but some learned and good man would go further, and do the Church more service with £100 per annum than with a coach and six, 100 years hence."

On the 2d of April, 1704, the churchmen of Burlington drew up a formal petition, to which they affixed their signatures, praying the honorable Society that Mr. Talbot might settle with them. The petition was granted, and he became the Rector of St. Mary's Church; but never gave over his

activity as a general missionary. His horse, and his man Philip, were in constant requisition. To lose one's missionary horse would discourage some temperaments. Mr. Talbot thus cheerfully alludes to it: "My horse you know dyed at Burlington, and y^e^ Quakers recorded it as a judgment upon me. Ben. Wheat set it down in his Almanack, such a day of y^e^ 1st month John Talbot's horse dyed, and Barnet Lane haled him into the river."

"As for a Suffragan," he continues, referring to the need seldom out of his mind, "we are all sensible of y^e^ want we have of one, and pray God send us a man of peace, for otherwise he will do more harm than good."

That he aspired to this office himself, is nowhere apparent. The reverse is sometimes revealed; notably in these words, "Mr. John Lillingston designs, it seems, to go for England next year; he seems to be the fittest person that America affords for the office of a Suffragan, and several persons, both of the Laity and Clergy, have wished he were the man; and if my Lord of London thought fit to authorize him, several of the Clergy both of this Province and of Maryland have said they would pay their tenths unto him, as my Lord of London's Vicegerent, whereby the Bishop of America might have as honorable provision as some in Europe."

This letter was written in New York; and, on the 2d of November, 1705—not a month afterwards—the Clergy of New York, the Jerseys, and Pennsylvania convened at Burlington; drew up and signed three important papers: (1) an address to the Society, petitioning for a Suffragan Bishop; (2) a petition to the Queen to the same purport; and (3) a letter to the Bishop of London, commending Mr. Talbot, who was deputed to present them in person. The language in these letters is very strong: "Our inexpressible wants of one to represent your Lordship here, make us use all the means we can think of towards the obtaining that blessing. Indeed, our case upon that Account is very lamentable, and no words are sufficient to express it. We shall have the less need to lay before your Lordship the further want of Ministers for West Jersey, Long Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, &c., in regard our Rev.

Brother Mr. Talbot, who has been an Itinerant Missionary, is very capable of giving your Lordship a particular account of all our church affairs."

The following March, Mr. Talbot was in London, soliciting for a Suffragan, books, and ministers. In the same year, doubtless to maintain himself, and have some priestly work while in England, he was presented to the living of Freethern in the county and diocese of Gloucester, and province of Canterbury. Two years afterwards he returned to America, with a heavy heart, to find that scandals had increased in Church and State. These, he avers, might have been avoided, by proper overseers, civil and ecclesiastical. The Secretary of the Society replies, that he should use greater moderation, and await the legal steps for the accomplishment of his desires. To this, he retorts, "You that live at home in ease and plenty, little do you know what they and we do bear and suffer here, and how many thousand souls are legally lost whilst they at home are legally supplying them." "I have got possession of the best house in America for a Bishop's seat; the Archbishop told me he would contribute towards it, and so I hope will others; pray let me know your mind in this matter, as soon as may be, for if they slip this opportunity, there is not such another to be had."

Three months afterwards, he writes in great depression, that ten missionaries have been lost, and not one has been sent in their stead. "Wherefore," says he, "my advice is, with humble submission to my superiors, to keep their money, and give us leave to come home, and send no more till they think fit to send a propagator of the Gospel; for otherwise their planting the Gospel is like the Indians planting gunpowder, which can never take root, but is blown away by every wind."

Another year came, and it seemed, at last, as though Mr. Talbot's exertions were about to be rewarded. The Society empowered the Hon. Col. Hunter, Gov. of New York and the Jerseys, to treat with its owner, for the house recommended by Talbot, for the residence of a Bishop. At this time, and for a year after, the Governor and he were friends. The

Governor writes, "Mr. Talbot I have found a perfect honest man, and an indefatigable Laborer: If he had less warmth, he might have more success, but that's the effect of constitution."

A war in which Great Britain was engaged produced in Mr. Talbot conscientious scruples, which caused him to omit that suffrage in the Litany for victory over her Majesty's enemies, and the prayer appointed to be said in time of war. Moreover, he went as far as New York in pursuance of a resolution to sail for England again, but changed his mind and returned to Burlington, where he bought a house and lot on the east side of what is now called *Talbot street.* The autumn following, Gov. Hunter, in behalf of the Society, consummated the purchase of the "mansion-house and lands" in Burlington, for £600 sterling of England, or £900 current money of New York, for a Bishop's seat. This famous property, only a few years previous, was described by Gabriel Thomas, in his quaint way, as "The Great and Stately Palace of John Tateham, Esq.," "pleasantly situated on the north side of the town, having a fine and delightful Garden and Orchard adjoyning to it." Its domain, of fifteen acres, was bounded on the north by the Delaware river, on the east by Assiscunk creek, on the south by Broad st., and on the west by St. Mary st. It was as level as a bowling green. The posts of its fences were cedar; the covering of its roof, lead; and there were offices, and a coach house, and stables, and every appointment to make it at once the grandest, and—for want of a purchaser—the cheapest establishment in America.

A Bill was ordered to be drafted, to be offered in Parliament, for establishing Bishoprics in America; and Burlington was designated as the first American See. Everything presaged success, but before the Bill was introduced, its great patroness, Queen Anne, died.

On the accession of George the First, a different complexion was given to American affairs. The feud between the Jacobites and the House of Hanover was reopened. All who held office were required to take the oath of allegiance afresh. This Mr. Talbot declined. Such a political offence, together with his plainness of speech, were made the ground for Gov.

Hunter to charge him, in a very scurrilous letter, with "incorporating the Jacobites in the Jerseys." And three of the most distinguished men in the Province—Ex-Gov. Bass, the Attorney-General, Mr. Alex. Griffiths, and the Hon. Col. Daniel Coxe—were included as his main abettors. The allegation was sent to England, and returned to Mr. Talbot. His vestry, who had known him for twelve years, united in pronouncing it "a calumnious and groundless scandal." Talbot, in his reply to the Bishop of London, says that he was a Williamite from the beginning, and took all the oaths at the admiralty office before first leaving England. Mingled with his indignation, he cannot resist a pun upon the Governor's name. "I suffer like my Lord and Master between two at Philadelphia and New York, but God has been my succour, and I doubt not but he will still deliver me from the snare of the Hunter."

On the 2d of June 1718, the Vestry of Christ Church, Philadelphia, united with that of St. Mary's Church, Burlington, in an humble petition to the Archbishops and Bishops of England, "to accomplish the evidently necessary work" of sending a Bishop to the Colonies. The next year, in April, 1719, Mr. Talbot laid before the Vestry of Christ Church another address to the same purport, to the same dignitaries. This was signed by the Governor, the Vestry, and Mr. Talbot.

Eighteen years had now passed, during which entire period Mr. Talbot had been incessant in toils, and importunate in appeals, for what he deemed the chief need of the Provinces.

On the 22d of June, 1720, he sells a portion of his land in Burlington, doubtless to defray the expenses of the voyage, and sails for England, uncertain as to whether he will ever return.

In April, 1721, he applied to the Lord High Chancellor, and received the interest on Archbishop Tenison's legacy, as the oldest missionary. He was absent two years and a half, and became intimate with Dr. Ralph Taylor,[1] a Nonjuring

[1] A letter written from London, 7th January, 1722–3, contains these words: "A few dayes agoe dyed the Rev. Dr. Ralph Taylor, who not conforming at

Bishop. The original Nonjuring Bishops, Sancroft, Ken, and others, were deprived of their Sees, as Talbot well knew, on purely political grounds. They held to the doctrine of hereditary right. They held further, that when the State persecuted the Church, the union of Church and State was dissolved; and that there was no validity in lay deprivations of Bishops and Clergy. In sympathy with such views, charged with Jacobitism when it was a false accusation, and despairing of an Episcopate for the Colonies in any other way, Talbot was induced to unite with Dr. Robert Welton, in receiving consecration from this source. The Nonjurors were in undoubted possession of the historical Episcopate. Yet, politically, they were under the ban; and they had recently had a division among themselves on the ground of "usages." These things made the venture desperate. Still, there were arguments that overbalanced them. The American Colonies were not in any diocese, nor, at that time, in any jurisdiction. From the middle of Charles II.'s reign until the close of that of Queen Anne, the Bishops of London had exercised Episcopal powers over America under a special seal—the arms of the See of London, surrounded by the inscription: "SIGILLUM. EPISCOPI. LONDINENSIS. PROCOMMISS. AMERICANIS."

In George the First's reign, however, the question was referred to the Attorney and Solicitor-General, "Whether America was so far to be deemed within the Diocese of London, that the Bishop thereof had all power in America?" The law-officers gave it as their opinion that letters-patent from the Crown were necessary to constitute such Episcopal powers, which Dr. Gibson, the then Bishop of London, *refusing to take out*, the seal became no longer an object for use.[1] A well-informed ecclesiastic as Talbot was, a firm believer in the Divine right of Bishops, and that, without them, the gifts of ordination and confirmation could not be received, his mind was made up. And, previous to the month of

the Revolution to the terms of the Government, followed King James the 2d into France, and for some years was Chaplain to the Protestants of the Court of that unhappy Prince."

[1] "Notes and Queries," 3d Series, vol. iv. Aug. 1, 1863, p. 84.

October, some time in the year of our Lord 1722, both Robert Welton and himself were consecrated to the office of Bishops, by Bishop Ralph Taylor. Percival brackets Taylor and Welton as uniting in the consecration of Talbot, but Rawlinson's MSS., in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, say Welton "was consecrated by Dr. Taylor alone, in a clandestine manner," and Talbot "was consecrated by the same person at the same time."[1] This Rawlinson was himself admitted to the Nonjuring Episcopate five or six years afterwards, although he took the utmost pains to conceal it, using stars to indicate his own name in the very entry of his consecration; yet his MS. must be regarded as very high authority.

Intent upon offering to his beloved America a purely primitive Episcopate, independent of the Civil Power, Talbot procured his Episcopal ring, and embarked, reaching this port with great joy.

"I and Mr. Skinner arrived safe," says he—naming himself first, a thing which he never did before, and perhaps indicating his superior office—"in six weeks at Philadelphia, never better weather, nor so good a Passage, as the Captain said (who was a Quaker); they and the sailors used to say, they had no luck when the Priests were on Board, but now they are both prettily convinced, and finally converted, to say no more. All sorts and conditions of men, women, and children were glad to see us return, for they had given me over. I was yesterday at New Bristol, in Pennsylvania, to call the people to Church, but they had almost lost the way; it was so overgrown with Bushes, they could hardly find the Church, having had nothing to do there for two years and a half." The Bishop's house at Burlington, he remarks, has suffered most of all, being untenanted and uncared for. "I have a house of my own," he adds, "just by the Church, and I would not live in the point House, if they would give it to me, but

[1] The first Bishop of the Church of Rome in this country, Dr. John Carroll, of Baltimore, was consecrated by a Bishop "in partibus," viz., Dr. Charles Walmesley, Bishop of Rama, senior Vicar Apostolical, etc., no other Bishop being present. The event took place in the chapel of Lulworth Castle, England, on Sunday, Aug. 15, 1790.

I am loath to see it fall down." . . "This is the last time of asking," he significantly observes.

Up to this writing, his letters had seldom failed to contain some allusion to a Bishop for the Colonies. Now, and henceforth, he never, so much as once, mentions the subject. On the contrary, he recommends, in this letter, that the House at the Point be made "a Free School or College, the sooner the better."

The following December, in addition to the care of his parish at Burlington, we find Talbot taking supervision of Christ Church, this city. Under date "Philadelphia, 9th December, 1723," he writes: "This place is my headquarters. . . . When I can get any help I send them to Burlington, but 'tis a thousand pities this place should be destitute. Here are much people, and tho' they are poor, they ought not to be lost for lack of looking after. . . . I am not fallen out with my first love, Dear Bur: but I have some pity of poor Philadelphia."

Two months before the date of this letter, there had been a "Convention of the Clergy" in Philadelphia, at which Talbot presided. The Vestry of Christ Church were anxious to have their incumbent, named Urmston, removed for good reasons. He was one of those waifs who are always to be found in a new country, seeking what they are too well known at home to get. He had sought every opening from Boston to Philadelphia, and finally settled himself upon Christ Church. The Vestry desired the moral support and concurrence of the Clergy in Convention in his removal. This they gave willingly; and were requested to supply the place in rotation, until it could be otherwise provided. Urmston, in a letter from Cecil County, Maryland, written in June, 1724, vents his spleen on the Vestry and people of Christ Church, and on Talbot in particular; and, in doing so, makes some disclosures.

"Mr. Talbot, the famous Rector of Burlington, in the Jerseys, supplanted me here. Governor Burnet had been long displeased with him by reason he is a notorious Jacobite, and will not pray for the King and Royal Family by name, only

says the King and Prince, by which 'tis obvious whom he means . . . He hath poisoned all the neighbouring clergy with his rebellious principles; they dare not pray otherwise than he does when he is present. He caused many of my hearers to leave the Church; at last he gained his point, was accepted, and I kicked out very dirtily by the Vestry, who pretend that the Bishop of London is no Diocesan, nor hath anything to do there more than another Bishop, so that any one that is lawfully ordained and licenced by any Bishop, it matters not who . . is capable of taking upon him any cure in America . . . About three months after Talbot was gotten into his kingdom, some had the courage to go to Sir William Keith, who otherwise was well-enough pleased with Talbot, and to tell his Excellency that it was a shame such a fellow should be allowed to officiate in the Church, and that if his Excellency suffered him, they would write to England against them both, whereupon Talbot was sent away, and the place hath been vacant there four months. What has become of this great Apostle I know not; certainly Gov. Burnet will not suffer him to return to Burlington. Some of his confidants have discovered that he is in [blank in MS.] orders. . . . I have heard of no ordinations he has made as yet."

The September after, Urmston being written to, to verify his statements, says: "Mr. Talbot did me no unkindness in causing me to be turned out of Philadelphia to make room for himself. He convened all the clergy to meet, put on his robes and demanded Episcopal obedience from them; one, wiser than the rest, refused, acquainted the Governor with the ill consequences thereof, the danger he would run of losing his Government, whereupon the Governor ordered the Church to be shut up."

In striking contrast with such a coloring of Talbot's conduct, we find the latter zealously engaged in endowing his parish. The deprived Nonjuror of his home Diocese of Gloucester, England, Dr. Frampton, had left a legacy of £100 "for the Encouragement of Ministers to propagate the Gospell in the western plantations, according to the direction of the

Bishop of London, Dr. Compton." Upon Talbot's solicitations, Compton had consented, and the money had been paid, and Talbot is executing a deed of gift to his successors, the Rectors of St. Mary's Church, Burlington, of more than two hundred acres of land. This bequest of Frampton, Talbot says in the deed, was for "the advancement of true Religion and y^e^ propagation of the Catholick and Apostolick Church, and (particularly) as a further Encouragement to the ministers of that pure branch of it planted here in America." The conditions, which Talbot makes for the enjoyment of the revenues of this land, are Episcopal ordination; admission to the Cure by the Vestry or the Bishop; performing Divine Service according to the Liturgy of the Church of England; complying with the rubrics and canons of the same; and, lastly, on the Monday following the Easter or Whitsunday, after such admission, publicly, after Divine Service in the forenoon, reading the 39 Articles, and testifying his assent thereto. All which provisions are exactly the reverse of anything unsound in doctrine, or schismatical in spirit.

Nearly two years passed, and, had it not been for another arrival, Talbot might have gone on unmolested. That arrival was Dr. Welton, who was consecrated at the same time with Talbot. He had been deprived of the rectorship of Whitechapel, London, for being a Nonjuror; had so far defied the law as to assemble 250 Nonjurors in a private house for Divine Service, and been imprisoned in consequence. Embittered by such severity he had come to Philadelphia, and was gladly received at Christ Church, in the room of the displaced Urmston. That Welton was a Nonjuror was well known. That he was in their Episcopate soon transpired. Sir Wm. Keith, the Governor of Pennsylvania, became alarmed, and wrote to the Bishop of London, July 24, 1724, "It is confidently reported here that some of these nonjuring Clergymen pretend to the authority and office of Bishops in the Church, which, however, they do not own, and I believe will not dare to practice, for I have publickly declared my resolution to prosecute with effect all those who, either in doctrine or conversation, shall attempt to debauch any of the

people with schismatical, disloyal principles of that nature." The Governor of New York and New Jersey, under date Aug. 3, 1724, lodges similar complaints against Talbot, and concludes with, "He is seldom in Jersey when I happen to be there, but avoids me and goes to Phila., where he has always officiated in the same indecent manner, and has had the folly to confess to some, who have published it, that he is a Bishop." A letter from Maryland, two weeks after, from the Rev. Mr. Henderson, shows that the excitement over the two Bishops was growing. "Mr. Talbot, Minister of Burlington, returned from England, about two years ago in Episcopal orders, though his orders, till now of late, have been kept as a great secret, and Dr. Welton is arrived there about six weeks ago, as I'm credibly informed, in the same capacity, and the people of Philadelphia are so fond of him that they will have him right or wrong for their minister. I am much afraid these gentlemen will poison the people of that province. I cannot see what can prevent it but the speedy arrival of a Bishop there, one of the same order to confront them, for the people will rather take confirmation from them than have none at all, and by that means they'll hook them into the schism." Meanwhile Talbot was increasing his parochial work in Burlington. He instituted the daily service, morning and evening, with frequent celebrations of the Holy Communion, preaching on Sunday mornings, and catechising or homilizing in the afternoons. His zeal, industry, and devotion made him all the less vulnerable. Welton was of such a different spirit from Talbot, that they soon avoided each other's company. Yet how to deal with either of them was a problem for the Governors. "So long as the Vestry here," writes Sir Wm. Keith, "take upon them to be wholly independent on the Governor's authority . . I hope I cannot be accountable for irregularities."

In London, too, the fire caught. The Rev. John Berriman wrote to the Rev. Samuel Johnson, of Connecticut, under date Feb. 17, 1725, "We hear of two Nonjuring Bishops (Dr. Welton for one), who are gone into America; and it is said

the Bishop of London will send one or more of a different stamp as an antidote against them."

Information of Welton's privily exercising the functions of a Bishop in Pennsylvania was sent to the Lords-Justices of Great Britain, who ordered a writ of privy seal to be served on him, commanding his return forthwith to England. He left Philadelphia in March, 1726; and, rather than obey the writ, retired to Lisbon, Portugal, where, in the August following, he died, refusing to commune with the English clergyman. Among his effects was found an Episcopal seal.

Talbot was discharged from the service of the Society, and ordered to "surcease officiating." True to the doctrines of non-resistance and passive obedience, he went to Maryland; where Commissary Wilkinson reports, that he "behaved very modestly, avoided talking very much, and resolved to submit quietly to the orders sent from England to prohibit his public officiating in any of the Churches, or to set up separate meetings."

The friends of Talbot, and they were pretty much everybody that knew him, lost no time nor opportunity to remonstrate. The Rev. Mr. Cummings had no sooner arrived in Philadelphia, than he was importuned by numbers of people from Burlington, and by some of the Province of Pennsylvania, to write to the Bishop of London in favor of Talbot. "They made me," he says, "promise to mention him, otherwise I would not presume to do it. He is universally beloved, even by the Dissenters here, and has done a great deal of good. Welton and he had differed, and broke off correspondence, by reason of the rash chimerical projects of the former, long before the Government took notice of them. If he were connived at, and could be assisted by the Society (for I am told the old man's circumstances are very mean), he promises by his friends to be peaceable and easy, and to do all the good he can for the future." The following winter, a most urgent memorial was addressed to the Society by the leading laymen of Philadelphia, Bristol, and Burlington, in which occurs this testimony: "Mr. Talbot, who for nigh thirty years past, has behaved himself with indefatigable

pains, and good success in his Ministry among us, under your Honour's care, has by some late conduct (nowise privy to us), rendered himself disagreeable to his superiors, and departed from us. We cannot, without violence to the principles of our Religion, approve of any acts, or give in to any measures inconsistent with our duty and Loyalty to his Majesty, whom God long preserve; yet in gratitude to this unhappy Gentleman, we humbly beg leave to say, that by his exemplary life and ministry, he has been the greatest advocate for the Church of England, by Law Established, that ever appeared on this shore."

No response, so far as we can learn, was ever returned to this memorial.

Talbot, who hitherto had been wedded only to the Church, and lived with great frugality, married a widow with some property. The age, position, and character of Mrs. Anne Herbert, made her, in every way, a suitable companion for him. "Her civil deportment and courteous behavior," remarks her biographer, "bespoake her a Gentlewoman in all respects." "She had so much goodness as justly rendered her an Example worthy of Imitation." "She always lived in the fear of God, and had nothing more at heart than to please Him, so that by her Christian life and sober conversation she honored the holy religion she professed, and gave no occasion for the enemies of God to blaspheme." "She delighted always to be near God's altar, was constant in her attendance on the Divine ordinances, and had a great esteem and respect for the Clergy. She was a good Neighbour, pitiful, compassionate, and merciful to the needy."

The venerable couple went to Burlington, where they lived in refined simplicity. This serene retirement did not last long. The *American Weekly Mercury* contains the following: "Philadelphia, Nov. 30, 1727. Yesterday, died at Burlington, the Reverend Mr. John Talbot, formerly Minister of that Place, who was a Pious, good man, and much lamented." How like the record of the protomartyr! "Devout men carried Stephen to his burial, and made great lamentation over him." The weeds which his widow wore till the day

of her death, and her request to be buried by his side, showed the strength of her affection for him. She removed to Philadelphia, where she met her final sickness. She sent for a scribe, and dictated a will, whose value as a historical paper cannot be overestimated. Almost every line of it throws light on some important point otherwise unknown. She desires to be "buryed by the Body of her late Husband," in the Church at Burlington, and "that a Decent plain Monument be erected in the sd Church with a proper inscription, to be composed by the Reverend Mr. Vaughan, of Elizabeth Town, & the Revd. Mr. Skinner, of Amboy, or either of them." She bequeaths £20 each, to Samuel Hasel and Charles Read, merchants of Philadelphia, whom she appointed her Executors; and, after the payment of her funeral expenses, debts, and legacies, she bequeaths all her estate, goods, and effects whatsoever, to her "Dutyfull & well-beloved Son, Thomas Herbert, of the Island of Mevis [Nevis?] Planter." George Roth and Mary Jacob united with Edward Warner, who drafted it, in witnessing this will. The testatrix was too weak to do more than make the first letter of her Christian name, but her husband's privy signet was produced, and on the warm surface of the black wax there an impression made, which brings us here to-night—a mitre, with flowing ribbons, and beneath it, in large script letters, ingeniously intertwining one another in bold relief, the full name—"John Talbot."

This act, famous henceforth in American history, was on the 30th of July, 1730. Ten weary months she yet survived. And when she spoke of her departure as very near, "it was," says one who saw and heard her, "with all the Chearfulness of a Christian who earnestly desired to die ye death of the Righteous, & had made it the business of her whole life to make her latter end like his."

Within the octave of Ascensiontide her soul was released from the burden of the flesh. And, on Whitsunday, June 6, 1731, her remains were placed in the Church at Burlington. A funeral sermon was preached, the original MS. of which is now in my possession. It is a mingled strain of

courage and caution. The preacher said: "I shall only make mention of such things as I am sure all that knew her will Justify, for those y^t^ knew her not, I am sure it will be highly uncharitable in them to Contradict. Therefore, I hope it will not be thought that I have other than a pious end in being Just to this our Sister's memory so far as it is Consistent with my own knowledge and good Acquaintance with her."

But where is the spot in which this holy pair repose? Where is the "decent plain monument" which Mrs. Talbot ordered in her will? Her assets were ample to cover its cost. But no monument can be found, and—no grave! Of Talbot it may be said, "No man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day."

Mrs. Talbot's son by her former marriage, Thomas Herbert, it is believed, from the records of Christ Church, this city, came here to settle her estate, and died the September following his mother. This may account for inattention to her will; while the circumstances attending the last years of Talbot would raise the suspicion of disloyalty to the Establishment in any to do him honor. Though, it is reported that he took the oaths and submitted, there was no unclasping of his fetters.

The cold shackles of Hanoverianism were imposed upon him, and he was buried with them on.

Thirty letters, besides many other documents, to which his signature is attached, are now before me, and no one can study these, and weigh them in all their bearings, and point out in them any vanity, self-seeking, or personal ambition. Nor can any one dispassionately consider his career, and not reach the conclusion that in being secretly consecrated, he was actuated by the purest desire to advance the real interests of religion in the colonies. His motives, scrutinized through the most powerful lenses, fail to furnish him with a harsher epitaph than "The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up."

But what, it will be asked, were his Episcopal acts? Where did he confirm? Whom did he ordain? These points are involved in profound obscurity. The parish register which

Talbot kept from 1702 to 1720, has no entries in his hand after he became a Bishop. Yet he officiated for two years and a half. He baptized many during that time—nineteen in one day, he writes in a letter—but any acts, even these baptisms, if recorded, must have been in a book as secret as his office, and may yet be traced through the legal representatives of his widow. There is absolutely nothing, that can be shown beyond question, to have been on his part an Episcopal act.

In one of his letters there is this announcement, "I have set up one Mr. Searle, a schoolmaster, to read prayers, and preach on Sundays, at Springfield; I lent him some sermons of Drs. Tillotson and Beveridge; several Quakers came to hear him, and are much taken with him; they say they never thought the Priests had so much Good Doctrine. I am sure he is a much better Clerk than Mr. H——n, saving his orders, therefore, I commend him to the Society for their encouragement, and hope they will count him worthy to be a half-pay officer in their service." Was this the appointment of a lay-reader, or an ordination?

There is a tradition which is thus given by Hawks, in his "History of the Church in Maryland:" "The venerable prelate, who was so long our Presiding Bishop [Bishop White, of Pennsylvania[1]], was accustomed to relate a story which he heard from his elder brethren, when he was but a youth. The story was this: A gentleman who had been ordained among the Congregationalists of New England [Mr. Whittlesey, of Connecticut, perhaps Wallingford, says *The Churchman's Magazine*, vol. v. p. 40], and who had officiated among them as a minister for many years, at length, to the surprise of his friends, began to express doubts about the validity of his ordination, and manifested no small trouble of mind on the subject. Suddenly, about the time of the arrival of Talbot and Welton, he left home without declaring the place of his

[1] Drs. William White and Samuel Provoost were consecrated in the chapel of Lambeth palace, England, Feb. 4, 1787, by Dr. John Moore, Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by three other Bishops of the Church of England.

destination, or purpose of his journey. After an interval of a few weeks he returned, and gave no further information of his movements than that he had been to some of the Southern Colonies; he also said on his return that he was now perfectly satisfied with his ordination, and from that day never manifested the least solicitude on the subject, but continued until he died to preach to his congregation. It was soon whispered by those whose curiosity here found materials for its exercise, that the minister had been on a visit to the nonjuring Bishops, and obtained ordination from one of them. He never said so; but, among Churchmen, it was believed that such was the fact."

Admitting the accuracy of this tradition, and the conferring of Holy Orders, was the ordination performed by Talbot or by Welton?

The late Hugh Davey Evans, of Baltimore, in his "Essay on the Episcopate of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America," published in this city in 1855, speaking of Samuel Seabury, of Connecticut, as "the first *diocesan* Bishop of the Anglican Communion, in North America,"[1] adds, "He would have been the first Bishop, as well as the first diocesan Bishop, but for one fact. In the early part of the century, two Bishops of the line of English Nonjurors had for a time resided in this country. One of them lived in New Jersey, and the other in Pennsylvania. They, however, claimed no diocesan jurisdiction; or, if they did, the claim was neither allowed, nor well founded. The fact that they were in the Episcopate was not generally known, and their existence has left no consequences in the history of the American Church."

Had I access to cartularies and archives in England, I could no doubt glean additional particulars respecting Bishop Talbot. I have only to say in conclusion, that the impression of his seal has been photographed, and enlarged in ecclesias-

[1] Dr. Seabury was consecrated in Aberdeen, Scotland, Nov. 14, 1784, by Robert Kilgour, Bishop of Aberdeen, assisted by two other Scottish Bishops.

tical brass, and is here to be seen this evening. It is intended to place it on a mural monument in the old Church at Burlington.

Note.—The brass fac-simile above referred to, fifteen by twenty inches in proportions, and weighing more than forty pounds, after remaining for several days at the rooms of the Historical Society, was affixed to a mural tablet. The tablet is of blue clouded Vermont marble, about six and a half by three feet in dimensions, with a rosette of brass in each of its four corners, and a cross, overlaid with brass, at the top. Around the oval signet run the words in red, "Enlarged fac-simile of the seal of;" and below, in black and red letters, as follows: "John Talbot, Founder of this Church, 1703: A Bishop by Nonjuror Consecration, 1722: Died in Burlington, Nov. 29th, 1727: Beloved and lamented. St. John II. 17."

This memorial, erected in old St. Mary's Church, Burlington, N. J., was, on the evening of Nov. 29, 1878—the 151st anniversary of Talbot's death—unveiled with commemorative services by the Rev. Dr. Hills; who, in the presence of a large assemblage, presented it as a gift to the corporation of St. Mary's Church, from John William Wallace, Esq., President of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

SPANGENBERG'S NOTES OF TRAVEL TO ONONDAGA IN 1745.

CONTRIBUTED BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

(Continued from page 432, Vol. II.)

June 9. Conrad Weiser sent the Onondaga warrior, who has been travelling with us thus far, ahead, to inform the Council of our coming. We gave him flint, steel, knife, and provisions for the journey. Last night our horses strayed back to Otstonwaken, hence we were compelled to lay by until noon. After dinner we resumed our journey, and entered the wilderness. Our course was N. Our path lay through the valley between the "Ant Hills,"[1] one hill resembling another side-by-side, and so high that we could scarcely see to the summit. They are all peaked, and resemble Ant Hills. In the evening we lodged at the "Coffee House,"[2] on Diadachton Creek.

June 10. It rained hard all day. Our course was N. for ten miles, then we turned N. E. We are still between the Ant Hills, and follow the Diadachton. The forest is so dense, that for a day the sun could not be seen, and so thick that you could not see twenty feet before. The path, too, is so bad that the horses often were stuck, and had to be extricated from the bogs; and, at other points, it lay full of trees, that had been blown down by the wind, and heaped so high that we were at a loss whether to turn to the right or to the left.[3] In the evening we came to a salt-lick, where elks frequent, and camped for the night.[4] At this place once three Indians lost their lives. Two of the Six Nations had two Flatheads priso-

[1] Dismal Vale, marked on Lewis Evans's map of 1749. Burnet's Hills.

[2] So named by Bishop Spangenberg.

[3] Weiser in his journal of 1737 states: "The woods were altogether of the kind called by the English spruce, and so thick that we could not generally see the sun shine."

[4] Probably in Lewis Township, Lycoming County.

ners, whom they were taking to Onondaga. As their prisoners had deported themselves quietly, they were no longer bound. While the Maguas were preparing their meal, their prisoners seized their guns, and killed one on the spot. The other was chased among the trees and killed, not, however, before he had mortally wounded one of his prisoners with his tomahawk. The other escaped. The marks of the tomahawk cuts are still to be seen on the trees.

Our guides, Shikellmy, and his son, and Andrew Sáttelihu saw fit to give us Magua names, as they said ours were too difficult for them to pronounce. Bro. Spangenberg they named *T'gerhitonti* (i. e., *a row of trees*); John Joseph, *Hajingonis* (i. e., *one who twists tobacco*); and David Zeisberger, *Ganonsseracheri* (i. e., *on the pumpkin*). *Observations:* At the salt-lick we found the tracks of Elks, who came there to lick the salt. The Elk is a species of deer, like horses without a mane.

June 11. Set off from the salt-lick, and travelled N. E.; reached the end of the Diadachton, and left the Ant Hills behind us.[1] The path was very bad, so that one of our horses almost broke his leg, by getting into a hole between the roots of a tree. In the afternoon we found a cold roast of bear, which Indians had left on the hunt. As the meat was good we prepared it for dinner. In the evening we came to the "Bear's Claws" and camped.[2] The Indians took the claws from the bear, and nailed them to a tree, hence the name. Here an Indian from Tioga lodged with us. From him we learned that our messenger was already one day journey ahead of us.

June 12. Our course was N. E. During the afternoon we left the wilderness, in which we were four days, and had scarce seen the sun. Even our horses were quite inspirited once again to leave the woods. We crossed a creek called Osgóchgo,[3] and then came to the North Branch of the Susque-

[1] Probably in McIntire Township, Lycoming County.

[2] Probably in Leroy Township, Bradford County.

[3] Weiser calls it *Oscahu*, i. e. *the fierce*. Now Sugar Creek, an affluent of the North Branch, above Towanda, in Bradford County.

hanna. Here we found the trees curiously painted by the Indians, representing their wars, the number that had fallen in battle, and the number they had killed. From this point our course was N.W. We went up the Susquehanna to Tioga, by the narrow path on the mountain by the river.[1] Crossed the branch that is called Tioga,[2] and here empties into the Susquehanna. Here we found a Mohican town. We proposed to pitch our tent near by, but the Indians came and urged us to lodge with them, as they had prepared a house and beds for us. We accepted their invitation with many thanks. This spot is about 180 miles from Shamokin, and in a charming region of country.

June 13. Our course was again N. E. We kept up along the Susquehanna, and nooned about fifteen miles above Tioga, on the river bank. We hobbled our horses, and led them to pasture. One of them got into the river beyond his depth, and being hobbled could not swim, consequently was drowned. We hurried to his rescue, but could not find a canoe in time to save him. Hence this place was called "*Gashnecariorum*," i. e., "*the dear spring.*"[3]

June 14. Set off from the "Dear Spring," and passed three islands, which we called John Penn, Thomas Penn, and Richard Penn. In the afternoon we came to a stream called Owego, which empties into the Susquehanna. There is an old Indian settlement here,[4] which was deserted last spring. We left the river to our right, and proceeded up the stream. Here and there in the woods, we found posts set up, painted red, around which the Indians had danced; and others, at the feet of which there were holes, where they tie their prisoners

[1] Break Neck Narrows.

[2] Now called the Chemung. Heckewelder states, "that Tioga is corrupted from Tiaóga, an Iroquois word, signifying *a gate*. This name was given by the Six Nations to the wedge of land lying within the forks of the Tioga (or Chemung) and North Branch—in passing which streams the traveller entered their territory *as through a gate*. The country south of the forks was Delaware Country."

[3] In Tioga Township, Tioga County, New York.

[4] Near the site of the present village of Owego.

when they return from a maraud—fixing their feet into the holes so they cannot escape. We encamped to-night on the banks of a creek called the Tiatachschiunge,[1] which empties into the Owego. In the forenoon our course was N. E., and in the afternoon N. W.

June 15. Followed the Tiatachschiunge Creek. Our course was N. W. After dinner we left the creek,[2] and crossed another called Ganowtachgerage.[3] Hence we crossed Prospect Hill.[4] At the foot of the hill we crossed a creek,[5] which runs into the St. Lawrence.[6] Camped in the "Dry Wilderness,"[7] where we had but little water.

June 16. To-day our course was E. N. E. Early in the morning we passed the first lake, which is called Ganiataragachrachat,[8] and also five others,[9] which empty into the Susquehanna. Nooned at Lake Ganneratareske.[10] Journeyed further, and came at night to the large lake, Oserigooch,[11] where we encamped.

June 17. Our horses strayed back in pasture to Lake Ganneratareske, hence we were compelled to lay by until near noon. The road was worse to-day than we have had before on the whole trip. Soon after starting we got the first Onondaga water to drink, which tastes salty.[12] Our course was N. W. After dinner we reached Onondaga,[13] where we were

[1] Cattatong Creek, probably in Candor Township, Tioga County.
[2] Probably a few miles above Candor.
[3] West Creek, probably in Richford Township, Tioga County.
[4] In Harford Township, Cortland County.
[5] Virgil Creek, in Virgil Township.
[6] Virgil Creek is a tributary of Falls Creek, the main inlet of Cayuga Lake.
[7] In Virgil and Cortlandville Townships.
[8] In Courtlandville Township, probably now known as Crandall's Pond.
[9] One is called Swains, and another Chatterdens.
[10] Big Lake in Preble Township.
[11] In Tully Township, Onondaga County. All these lakes noted are on the headwaters of the Tioughnioga River.
[12] Weiser, in his journal of 1737, states: "I went with my host and another old friend to see a salt spring, of which there are great numbers, so that a person cannot drink of every stream, on account of the salt water. The Indians boil handsome salt for use."
[13] Onondaga, at this date, was situated on both sides of Onondaga Creek

heartily and courteously received, and invited into the King's house, which we accepted.[1]

June 19. In the evening, the Indians paraded through the town to the music of a couple of violins, flutes, and a drum; and also around the house where we lodged.

June 20. Bro. Spangenberg bled our host. There came, also, many sick, and asked for medicine, which he gave them, and the use of which the Lord blessed. Conrad Weiser informed the Council of the object of his visit, and laid his propositions before them.[2] Having done this, the Indians placed a kettle of boiled corn before him and his companions, and what was left they ate. The Council then retired into another house, where they counselled until in the evening. Then the Black Prince[3] came and informed Conrad, that as it was so late, the reply of the Council would be given to-morrow. The Indians to-night had a dance in our house. One beat a drum, and about twenty danced around the fire. The leader was distinguished by having rattles hanging to his legs. All yelled savagely, and, after having danced a quarter of an hour, the sweat ran down as if water had been poured over them. The dance lasted three hours, and it appeared impossible for them to hold out so long. The men dance abreast, and the women follow, and whoever can appear the most grotesque, and leap the highest, receive the most praise. *Obser-*

(Zinochsa), and was two or three miles in length. It consisted of about forty cabins (many of them containing two or more families), but generally standing single, rarely more than four or five were near each other. The Council House was about five miles from Onondaga Lake.

[1] Probably Cannassatego, alias "The Word;" Sachem of the Onondagas. His name figures in all the principal transactions of the Six Nations from 1734 to 1750. Died September 6, 1750.

[2] *See* Colonial Records, vol. iv. p. 778.

[3] Loskiel states, "that Tocanontie, an Iroquois Sachem, was called the 'Black Prince,' because his chest was literally black with a network of devices and designs, tatooed into the skin with gunpowder." Zinzendorf in his narrative of a "Journey from Bethlehem to Shamokin," in September, 1742, also states: "The Black Prince of Onondaga is a terrible savage. On one occasion he broke into the stockaded castle of the enemy, scalped the inhabitants, and escaped unhurt." He died in the jail at Montreal.

vations: Our new host's name is Aschanchtioni; the chief men are Cannassatego, the Black Prince, and Caxhayn.[1]

June 21. Bro. Spangenberg bled two Indians. The Council again met, but owing to the absence of some of the chiefs, Conrad's propositions were only partly acted upon. They suggested that they be deferred until Spring, when all the chiefs will meet in Philadelphia at the Treaty. Their warriors, nevertheless, would be instructed to discontinue hostilities, and the Governor of Canada informed that the Shawanese had been unfaithful to Brother Onas, and that he had, therefore, struck them on the head with a hatchet. After this a kettle of food was placed before Conrad and his companions. The Black Prince invited the whole Council and us to a feast. On this occasion they returned the strings of wampum to Conrad Weiser which he had sent from the "Limping Messenger" to announce our advent. In the evening the Indians again had a dance of three hours.

June 22. Bro. Spangenberg bled an Indian, and then with Conrad Weiser, Shikellmy, and Andrew Sáttelihu set out for Oswego.[2] Bro. John Joseph accompanied them to the lake (Onondaga), to bring back the horses. Six bark-canoe loads of Indians went along.

June 27. Bro. Spangenberg returned from Oswego. While yet far out upon the lake, Cannassatego spied them, built a fire, and prepared food. When Bro. Spangenberg landed, he requested him to bleed him.

June 28. Made preparations for our return journey to-day.

June 29. Began our return journey. Our first halt was made at Tiatáchtont,[3] where Bro. Spangenberg bled Cannassatego's brother, and conversed with the young Indian Bro. Zinzendorf found sick at Wyoming, and recommended to

[1] Caxhayton, counsellor of Cannassatego, came to Philadelphia in February of 1742 to announce the intention of the Six Nations to meet the Governor in conference there in the course of the following summer. During his sojourn of two weeks, he lodged at the Moravian parsonage with his wife and children, and there made the acquaintance of Zinzendorf. Died in the autumn of 1749.

[2] At the mouth of the Oswego River, on Lake Ontario.

[3] Near the northwestern line of Lafayette Township, Onondaga County.

our notice. Here, also, we parted with Conrad Weiser and Andrew Sáttelihu, who travel by the path to the left, while we, with Shikellmy and his son, go to the right. At noon it began to rain in torrents, and we were soon wet to the skin. We left the large Lake Osterigooch to the right, and by night reached Lake Gannenatareske, where we encamped. Our course was S.

June 30. The rain continuing, we kept our tent until noon. Then our course was S.W. for twelve miles, and then E. until near night. Passed Lake Ganiateragachraetont, and came to the Dry Wilderness, where we encamped.

July 1. Set out early to-day. Our course for one hour was S. E., and then S. until noon. Crossed the creek that flows into Canada, and came to Prospect Hill, at the base of which runs the Ganontachorage, which we crossed. At noon we reached the Tiatachtschumge Creek, where we rested. Bro. Joseph, who has been sick all day, took drops to sweat. After dinner we travelled S. S. E., and at evening encamped on the last-named creek. While Bro. Joseph and a Catawba were cutting down a rotten tree, with which to make a smoke to protect ourselves against the gnats, Shikellmy came on the other side, and narrowly escaped receiving Bro. Joseph's axe in his body.

July 2. Our course was S. S. E. until 3 o'clock, and S. W. until evening. At noon we reached Owego, the site of the old Indian town. Passed the three islands in the North Branch, and came to the "Dear Spring," where we lost our horse, and encamped for the night. In the evening, two canoes filled with Indian women from Tioga, came up to hunt for wild beans. Bro. Spangenberg cut his foot while gathering brush.

July 3. To Tioga, which we reached at noon, our course was S. W. Here the Indians supplied us with some provisions, but not sufficient for our journey—they had but little to spare. Below Tioga we took the narrow path along the Susquehanna. Towards evening we left the river to our left, and at night camped on the Osgóchgo. It rained hard all night.

July 4. Our course was S. until noon. Passed the "Bear's Claws," and camped at the "Cold Roast."[1]

July 5. At noon we came to the salt-lick whence the Diadachton Creek issues. Towards night we found two old Indian lodges, which we entered, as it was raining hard. Our course until 10 o'clock was S. W., then W. until 12 o'clock, and afterwards S. W. We are now between the "Ant Hills."

July 6. Our course from 4 to 7 A. M. was S., then S. W. till 9, then W. until noon. The Lord preserved us to-day from two accidents. Early this morning, while riding along the Diadachton Creek, Bro. Zeisberger fell with his horse into the water, and struck his cheek on a stick he had in his hand. For some time he lay unconscious. A little further on lay a snake (a blower), as thick as the arm, in the middle of the path. Bro. Spangenberg, Shikellmy, and his son rode over it, and Bro. Zeisberger, who was leading his horse, walked over it without seeing it. Last came Bro. John Joseph—on him the snake turned, and attempted to bite him and his horse twice. After our noon halt our course was S., when we passed the "Coffee House," and left the hill country. Three hours before night we reached the "Limping Messenger," and the end of the wilderness, and thence S. W. to Otstonwaken, where we lodged. As it had rained all day, we were wet to the skin, and as the Indians had neither fire nor wood, we went to bed wet, and arose next morning wet. For supper we had some fish, which had been caught during the afternoon, for the Indians had nothing to give us. We travelled 50 miles to-day.

July 7. Leaving Otstonwaken, we came again to the West Branch; passed the Ganachrirage, and rested at noon by the river. Our provisions were nearly exhausted. In this strait an old Indian joined us, undid his pack, and took out a smoked turkey, and told us to boil it—when we ate and were satisfied. In the afternoon passed the "Streiter Lage" (Warrior's Camp), and encamped by the river. For supper we cooked a handful of rice for seven persons, which the old Indian seeing, he got

[1] The place where the bear meat was found June 11th.

out some pieces of venison and put them in the kettle, and we had plenty.

July 8. This morning passed the place where Shikellmy formerly lived, next the Shawanese town and creek, and at noon reached Shamokin. Bro. Spangenberg and Zeisberger immediately crossed over to the island to visit Andrew Sáttalihu's family, to deliver a message to his wife. On returning, we found an Indian trader, from whom we purchased some flour. Continued on our journey, and at night reached "Marienborn."

July 9. Rested part of the day at "Marienborn," as the horses were much fatigued. Later in the day, when in "Joseph's Valley," we were overtaken by a fearful hail-storm. Hurried on, and when on the mountain the sun broke forth, and a beautiful rainbow spanned the valley back of us. Passed "Cool Bank," on the Susquehanna, and encamped on the Mechana Creek.

July 10. During the morning passed "Jacob's Heights," and came to the "Double Eagle." Here we found encamped a family of Indians, who on learning from whence we had come, said we must be tired; and the man said to his wife, "give them some spits full of venison." In return Bro. Spangenberg gave them knives and thimbles. Nooned at "Benigna's Creek," and at nightfall came to the "Thürnstein." As we were leading our horses down, Bro. Spangenberg, who was in advance, heard the rattle of a rattlesnake, and called to us to come kill it, but it could not be found. Encamped at the base of the "Thürnstein," on the Swatara.

July 11. Our course was S. E. We early entered "Anton's Wilderness," thence over the Kittatiny Mountain, and nooned on the Little Swatara.[1] From thence we proceeded to Christopher Weiser's.

[1] Bethel Township, Berks County.

COMPUTATION OF TIME, AND CHANGES OF STYLE IN THE CALENDAR.

ADDRESSED TO STUDENTS OF HISTORY AND GENEALOGY.

BY SPENCER BONSALL.

(Concluded from Vol. II. page 394.)

In the preparation of this article it was necessary to consult a number of works of reference for the purpose of comparing the statements of the best authorities on the subject. Information of great importance, to the student of history, in fixing and verifying dates, was found scattered in the volumes consulted, and, for convenience of reference, the notes taken are now given in a more condensed form.

The "New Style," or Gregorian calendar, was adopted generally, in Roman Catholic countries, immediately after its promulgation, A. D. 1582. Most Protestant countries, however, continued for a longer or shorter period to use the "Old Style," or Julian calendar. It is necessary, therefore, in dealing critically with dates after 1582, to ascertain what "Style" was in use, at the time and place in question. The following table, compiled principally from "L'Art de vérifier les Dates," by M. de Saint-Allais, Paris, 1818, "The Chronology of History," by Sir Harris Nicolas, K.C.M.G., London, 1852, and "Handy-Book of Rules and Tables for Verifying Dates with the Christian Era," etc., by John J. Bond, Assistant Keeper of the Public Records, London, 1869, will serve to show when the chief States of Europe adopted the "New Style." As Mr. Bond had peculiar facilities for procuring correct information regarding the changes in many of the countries, and as his book is the latest authority to which I have had access, I have, when any doubt existed, preferred his dates to those of others.

	Old Style ended on—	New Style began next day—
In Spain,[1] Portugal, and the greater part of Italy, the same day as at Rome and Milan.	Thu. 4 Oct. 1582.	Fri. 15 Oct. 1582.
In France[2] and Lorraine.[3]	Sun. 9 Dec. 1582.	Mon. 20 Dec. 1582.
In Germany[4] and Switzerland[5] (by Roman Catholics). In Savoy.[6] In the Roman Catholic Netherlands,[7] *viz.*, Brabant, Limbourg, Luxembourg, Gelderland (in part)—*Duchies.* Flanders, Artois, Hainault, Namur—*Counties.* Antwerp (*called the Marquisate of the Holy Empire*). Malines—*Lordship.* In the Protestant Netherlands,[8] Holland and Zealand, *viz.*, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Leyden, Delft, Haerlem, and the Hague.	Fri. 21 Dec. 1582.	Sat. 1 Jan. 1583.
In Prussia[9] (date of introduction not fixed).	.....	.... 1583.
In Poland.[10]	Tue. 21 Dec. 1585.	Wed. 1 Jan. 1586.
In Hungary[11] (date of introduction not fixed).	.....	.... 1587.
In Strasbourg.[12]	Sat. 18 Feb. 1682.	Sun. 1 Mar. 1682.
In Denmark,[13] and Protestant States of Germany.[14]	Sun. 18 Feb. 1700.	Mon. 1 Mar. 1700.
In Overyssel[15] or Overijsel (date not fixed).	.....	.... 1700.
In Gelderland[16] or Guelderland.	Wed. 19 June, 1700.	Thu. 1 July 1700.
In Utrecht.[17]	Tue. 19 Nov. 1700.	Wed. 1 Dec. 1700.
In Friesland[18] or Vriesland.	Fri. 20 Dec. 1700.	Sat. 1 Jan. 1701.
In Groningen,[19] and Protestant parts of Switzerland.[20]	Tue. 31 Dec. 1700.	Wed. 12 Jan. 1701.
In Tuscany[21] (date of introduction not fixed).	.....	..... 1751.
In Great Britain,[22] Ireland, and the Colonies.	Wed. 2 Sept. 1752.	Thu. 14 Sept. 1752.
In Sweden.[23]	Sun. 28 Feb. 1753.	Mon. 12 Mar. 1753.

[1] **Spain, etc.** Bull of Pope Gregory XIII., 24th Feb. 1582.

[2] **France.** Pursuant to edict of Henry III., dated 3d Nov. 1582.

[3] **Lorraine.** Orders of those who had the spiritual authority in the name of the Bishop, Charles de Lorraine, Nov. 24th, 1582. See *L'Art de vérifier les Dates.*

[4] **Germany.** [5] **Switzerland.** [6] **Savoy.** Authority not given. See *Bond's Handy-Book.*

[7] **Roman Catholic Netherlands.** Proclamation of the Court 22d December, 1582.

[8] **Protestant Netherlands.** By edict or *Plakaet* of 10 Dec. 1582 (entered in

YEARS, MONTHS, AND WEEKS.

YEAR (Mœso-Gothic, *jer;* Anglo-Saxon, *gear;* Dutch, *jarr;* Friesic, *jer;* German, *jahr;* Danish, *aar;* Swedish, *ar;* Ice-

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the *Great Plakaet boek*, I. 395, in the Record Office of the Hague), the introduction of the New Style was fixed for the 15th of December, 1582; but afterwards settled, by a resolution of the States of Holland, to begin on the 1st of January, 1583.

The other provinces only adopted the measure about the year 1700.

[9] Prussia. "State Papers.—Prussian, 1586."

[10] Poland. "State Papers, Cracow, 3 January, 1586, *Stylo novo.*"

[11] Hungary. The Diet of Presburg, held in the presence of the Archduke Ernest, 1587.

[12] Strasbourg. Through the exertions of M. de la Grange, intendant of Alsace, Feb. 5th, 1682. *L'Art de vérifier les Dates.*

[13] Denmark. "State Papers, Copenhagen, 2d May, 1702, S. N." (*Stylo novo.*)

[14] Protestant States of Germany. On the 15th Nov. 1699, the old Calendar was universally abandoned within the empire; and a new one, framed by a celebrated mathematician named Weigel, was adopted, which differed only from the Gregorian as to the mode of fixing Easter and the Movable Feasts, so that it sometimes happened that the Protestants and Catholics celebrated that feast on a different day.

[15] Overyssel (date of introduction not fixed). By resolution, dated 4 April, 1700.

[16] Gelderland. In accordance with a resolution of the States, dated 26 May, 1700. (*Geld. Plakaet boek*, III. 27.)

[17] Utrecht. By the resolution dated 24 July, 1700. (*Utrecht Plakaet boek*, I. 457.)

[18] Friesland. By resolution dated 11 and 12 October, 1700.

[19] Groningen. In consequence of a resolution of the States General, of 6 February, 1700.

[20] Protestant parts of Switzerland refused the New Style until 1700, when Weigel's Calendar was received by those of the cantons of Zurich, Berne, Basle, and Schaffhausen, who commenced the year 1701 on the 12th Jan. N. S.

[21] Tuscany. By the Emperor of Germany, as grand-duke of Tuscany. (Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xxi. p. 93.)

[22] Great Britain, &c. Pursuant to Statute 24 Geo. II. c. 23, 1751.

[23] By edict of the King 24th Feb. 1752. *L'Art de vérifier les Dates.*

Bond states, that "The Gregorian, or New Style, was adopted gradually after 1696. The King of Sweden, fearing that striking off ten days at once, might prove prejudicial to commercial transactions, adopted the New Style gradually, by making no Leap-year after 1696 until 1744, by which plan 11 days were dropped. The eleven intermediate '*fourth years*' having thus only 365 days each, made the year 1744 the same as other countries where the New Style had been adopted." According to this arrangement, New Style would have commenced on Tuesday, 1 March, 1740.

landic, *ar;* Sanscrit, *jahran*, a course, or circle, to move in a circle).

Year, in the full extent of the word, is a system, or cycle of several months, usually twelve. Some writers define it as a period or space of time, measured by the revolution of some celestial body in its orbit. Thus the time in which the fixed stars make a revolution is called the great year; and the times in which Jupiter, Saturn, the Sun, Moon, etc. complete their courses, and return to the same point of the zodiac, are respectively called the years of Jupiter, and Saturn, and the Solar and Lunar years, etc.[1]

It is stated in Hutton's "Philosophical and Mathematical Dictionary," that a year, originally, denoted a revolution, and was not limited to that of the sun. Accordingly, we find by the oldest accounts, that people have, at different times, expressed other revolutions by it, particularly that of the moon; and consequently, that the years of some accounts are to be reckoned only months, and sometimes periods of two, or three, or four months. This will assist us greatly in understanding the traditions that certain nations give of their own antiquity, and perhaps also of the great age of men. We read expressly in several of the old Greek writers, that the Egyptian year, at one period, was only a month; and we are also told that at other periods it was three months, or four months; and it is probable that the children of Israel followed the Egyptian mode of computing their years. The Egyptians boasted, nearly two thousand years ago, that they had historical records of events, happening forty-eight thousand years before that period. This statement was evidently intended to deceive the Greeks, with the design of making them believe that they, the Egyptians, were the most ancient nation, an ambition which the Chinese attempt, at present, to imitate, striving to impress us with the idea that they are the oldest people on the earth. Both the present and the early imposters have pretended to ancient observations of the heavenly bodies, and recounted eclipses, in particular, to vouch for the truth of their statements. Since the

[1] Ephraim Chambers's Cyclopædia, 1741.

time in which the solar year, or period of the earth's revolution round the sun, has been received, we may calculate with certainty; but, in regard to those remote ages, in which we do not precisely know what is meant by the term year, it is impossible to form any satisfactory conjecture of the duration of time, as computed by the ancients in their chronicles.

The Babylonians pretend to an antiquity of the same fabulous kind; they boast of forty-seven thousand years in which they had kept observations; but we may judge of these as of the others. The Egyptians speak of the stars having four times altered their courses in that period which they claim for their history, and that the sun set twice in the east. They were not such perfect astronomers but that, after a roundabout voyage, they might perhaps mistake the east for the west, when they came in again, particularly as the use of the mariner's compass was unknown to them.

The tropical or solar year, properly, and by way of eminence so-called, is the space of time in which the sun moves through the twelve signs of the zodiac. This, by observations of the best modern astronomers, contains 365 d. 5 h. 48 m. 46.14912 seconds. The quantity assumed by the authors of the Gregorian calendar was 365 d. 5 h. 49 m., which corresponds exactly with the observations of Bianchini, and de La Hire, in the next century. In the civil, or popular account, the year contains 365 days, with an additional day every four years.

The excess of the solar year over 365 days has been given by different astronomers as follows:—

Meton and Euctemon	5th	Century	B. C.	6 h. 18 m. 57	sec.
Hipparchus . . .	2d	"	"	5 h. 55 m. 12	"
Sosigenes . . .	1st	"	"	6 h. 0 m. 0	"
Albategnius . .	9th	"	A. D.	5 h. 46 m. 24	"
Alphonsine Tables .	13th	"	"	5 h. 49 m. 16	"
Copernicus . . .	16th	"	"	5 h. 49 m. 6	"
Tycho Brahe . .	"	"	"	5 h. 48 m. 45.5	"
Kepler . . .	17th	"	"	5 h. 48 m. 57.65	"
Halley	"	"	"	5 h. 48 m. 54.691	"
Lalande . . .	18th	"	"	5 h. 48 m. 35.5	"
Delambre . . .	"	"	"	5 h. 48 m. 51.6	"
Laplace . . .	"	"	"	5 h. 48 m. 49.7	"
Hind, 1850 . . .	19th	"	"	5 h. 48 m. 46.2	"

Month (Gothic, *menath;* Anglo-Saxon, *monath*, from *mona*, the moon; German, *monat;* Dutch, *maand;* Danish, *maaned;* Swedish, *manad*).

The next convenient division of time, which is marked out by the revolutions of the heavenly bodies, is the month. The *astronomical* month is the period of time in which the moon performs a complete revolution round the heavens, and is either *periodical* or *synodical.* The *periodical* month is the time in which the moon moves from one point of the heavens to the same point again, and is equal to 27 d. 7 h. 43 m. 47 seconds; and the *synodical* month, or *lunation*, as it is sometimes called, is that portion of time which elapses between two successive new moons, or between two successive conjunctions of the moon with the sun, and is equal to 29 d. 12 h. 44 m. 3.19 seconds. The *solar* month is that portion of time in which the sun moves through one entire sign of the zodiac, the mean quantity of which is 30 d. 10 h. 29 m. 3.84576 seconds, being the twelfth part of the solar year.

Week (Anglo-Saxon, *weoc;* Dutch, *week;* German *woche;* Danish, *uge;* Swedish, *vecka*).

The subdivision of the month into weeks is very ancient, and has been adopted by almost all nations, excepting the ancient Greeks, the inhabitants of the north of China, the Persians, and the Mexicans. It originated with the ancient Chaldeans, who gave the name of one of the seven planets to each hour of the day, and designated each day by the name of that planet which corresponded with the first hour of the day. In order to understand this, the order of the planets must be given upon the Ptolemaic system, that is, in the order of their distances from the earth, beginning with the most distant: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon. Commencing with Saturn, on the first hour of the first day, and allotting to each hour a planet, in the order named, the first hour of the second day, it is found, would fall to the Sun; of the third day, to the Moon; of the fourth, to Mars; of the fifth, to Mercury; of the sixth, to Jupiter; and of the seventh, to Venus.[1]

[1] Edinburgh Encyclopædia.

The Latins adopted these designations in their names of the days of the week. They are to be found in old law books and MSS., and are still used by the learned professions throughout Europe.

Occasionally, the *signs only* of the planets were used, for the sake of brevity, particularly in diaries and journals. This is notably the case in the original MS. field-book of Mason and Dixon's survey of the boundary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland, 1763 to 1768, in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. In this book the name of each day of the week is represented by the sign, in addition to the usual dates, for a period of over four years. See, also, "Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania" (Colonial Records), vol. ii. pages 90 to 96, etc. etc. In the latter part of vol i. (same Records) the Latin names of the days were used.

Our Saxon ancestors, before their conversion to Christianity, named the seven days of the week from the sun and moon, and some of their deified heroes, to whom they were peculiarly consecrated, and representing the ancient gods or planets; which names we have received, and still retain.

Latin.	Signs.	English.	Anglo-Saxon.	Presided over by
Dies Saturni	♄	Saturday	Sætern-dæg	Saturn
Dies Solis	☉	Sunday	Sunnan-dæg	The Sun
Dies Lunæ	☽	Monday	Monan-dæg	The Moon
Dies Martis	♂	Tuesday	Tiwes-dæg	Mars
Dies Mercurii	☿	Wednesday	Wodnes-dæg	Mercury
Dies Jovis	♃	Thursday	Thors-dæg	Jupiter
Dies Veneris	♀	Friday	Frigas-dæg	Venus

In some ancient documents we find the equivalent terms, *Dies Sabbati* for Saturday, and *Dies Dominica* for Sunday. Tiw, Tyw, Tuisto or Tuesco, the Saxon Mars, or God of war. Woden or Odin, a Scandinavian chief or deity, the reputed author of magic, and the inventor of all the arts, and was thought to answer to the Mercury of the Greeks and Romans. Thor was the god of thunder, as well as the ancient Jove. Friga, Freya, or Freja was the Scandinavian Venus; she was the wife of Thor, and goddess of peace, fertility, and riches.

This order of the days, first adopted by the Chaldeans, was

preserved by the Mosaic law. The Christians, however, began their week on Sunday, and the Mahometans on Friday.

Calendar of the French Republic from 1792 to 1806.

Although Encyclopædias and other works mention the French Republican Calendar, and in some cases attempt to give copies of it, I have yet to find, in the English language, a correct exemplar, or one that can be used for practical purposes. The Calendar here given may be relied on for perfect accuracy in every particular, as it has been prepared directly from the "Almanach National de France," and the "Gazette Nationale, ou Le Moniteur Universel."

The zeal for innovation which accompanied the French revolution, induced the rulers to change their calendar along with their government. It was decreed by the National Convention, in the autumn of 1793, that the vulgar era should be abolished in all civil concerns; that the new French era should be reckoned from the foundation of the republic, September 22, 1792, of the vulgar era, on the day of the true autumnal equinox; that each year should begin on the midnight of the day on which the autumnal equinox falls; and that the first year of the French republic had begun immediately after 12 o'clock P. M. of the 21st of September, 1792, and had terminated on the midnight between the 21st and 22d of September, 1793. In order to effect a correspondence between the seasons and the civil year, it was decreed that the fourth year of the republic should be the first sextile, or leap year, that a sixth complementary day should be added to it, and that it should terminate the first *Franciade;* that the sextile, or leap year, should take place every four years, and should mark the close of each Franciade; that the first, second, and third centesimal years, viz. 100, 200, and 300 of the republic, should be common, and that the fourth, viz. 400, should be sextile; and this should be the case every four centuries until the fortieth, which should terminate with a common year.

It was intended that the year should have been divided into ten parts, conformably to the decimal system: but, in taking the divisions of the months, the twelve revolutions of

the moon round the earth made it absolutely necessary to admit twelve months. These were named after the seasons to which they belonged.

Autumn	Vendémiaire	Vintage month	September 22	to	October 21	30	days
	Brumaire	Foggy month	October 22	"	Nov. 20	30	"
	Frimaire	Frosty month	November 21	"	Dec. 20	30	"
Winter	Nivôse	Snowy month	December 21	"	Jan. 19	30	"
	Pluviôse	Rainy month	January 20	"	Feb. 18	30	"
	Ventôse	Windy month	February 19	"	March 20	30	"
Spring	Germinal	Germinating month	March 21	"	April 19	30	"
	Floréal	Flowery month	April 20	"	May 19	30	"
	Prairial	Meadow month	May 20	"	June 18	30	"
Summer	Messidor	Harvest month	June 19	"	July 18	30	"
	Thermidor	Hot month	July 19	"	August 17	30	"
	Fructidor	Fruit month	August 18	"	Sept. 16	30	"

As the French months consisted of 30 days each, making in all 360 days, the remaining five days required to complete the year were called *complementary days* and *sans-culottides*. They were named as follows:—

1. Primedi	Fête de la Vertu	The Virtues	Sept.	17th
2. Duodi	Fête du Génie	Genius	"	18th
3. Tridi	Fête du Travail	Labor	"	19th
4. Quartidi	Fête de l'Opinion	Opinion[1]	"	20th
5. Quintidi	Fête des Récompenses	Rewards	"	21st

The intercalary day of every fourth year was called *La sans-culottide*, and was to be the Festival of the Revolution, to be dedicated to a grand solemnity, in which the French should celebrate the period of their enfranchisement, and the institution of the Republic. The National oath, "To live free or die," was to be renewed.

Each day was divided according to the decimal system, into ten parts or hours, and these into ten others, and so on.

Each month was divided into three decades, each consist-

[1] "This festival, absolutely original, and perfectly adapted to the French character, was to be a sort of political carnival of twenty-four hours, during which people should be allowed to say or to write with impunity, whatever they pleased concerning every public man. It was for opinion to do justice upon opinion itself; and it behooved all magistrates to defend themselves by their virtues against the truths and the calumnies of that day."—Thiers' *History of the French Revolution.*

ing of ten days; the names of which were taken from the Latin numerals. The first was called *Primedi*, 2d *Duodi*, 3d *Tridi*, 4th *Quartidi*, 5th *Quintidi*, 6th *Sextidi*, 7th *Septidi*, 8th *Octidi*, 9th *Nonidi*, and 10th *Décadi*. The last was the day of rest, and superseded the former Sunday.

This decimal arrangement did not appear to give general satisfaction, the French Republicans rarely adopting the new names of the days, in dating their letters, or in conversation, but using the number of the day of each month of their calendar. Thus: the 6th, 17th, 28th, or 30th Nivôse, the 9th Fructidor, the 12th Germinal, the 16th Frimaire, the 23d Prairial, etc. The system was abandoned, and religious worship restored after *Septidi*,[1] 27th Germinal, year X. (17th April, 1802), and the next day, Sunday, commenced with the usual names of the days of the week: *Dimanche*, *Lundi*, *Mardi*, *Mercredi*, *Jeudi*, *Vendredi*, and *Samedi*.

This calendar existed until the 10th Nivôse, year XIV. (the 31st December, 1805). The next day, January 1, 1806, the Gregorian mode of computation was restored.

With the aid of the preceding and following tables, a complete calendar for any month, or year, of the French Republic can easily be constructed.

From	22 Sept.	1792	I
To	21 "	1793	
From	22 "	1793	II
To	21 "	1794	
From	22 "	1794	III*
To	22 "	1795	
From	23 "	1795	IV
To	21 "	1796	
From	22 "	1796	V
To	21 "	1797	
From	23 "	1797	VI
To	21 "	1798	
From	22 "	1798	VII*
To	22 "	1799	
From	23 "	1799	VIII
To	22 "	1800	

From	23 Sept.	1800	IX
To	22 "	1801	
From	23 "	1801	X
To	22 "	1802	
From	23 "	1802	XI*
To	23 "	1803	
From	24 "	1803	XII
To	22 "	1804	
From	23 "	1804	XIII
To	22 "	1805	
From	23 "	1805	XIV
To	31 Dec.	1805	

* Sextile or leap-years,

The calendar, although reckoned from the 22d of September, 1792, was not introduced until the 8th of Brumaire, year II. (29th of October, 1793). See *Le Moniteur* of that date.

[1] See *Gazette Nationale ou Le Moniteur Universel*, 18, 20 Germinal, year X. (8, 10 April, 1802) for act of the Corps-Législatif, and speech of Lucien Bonaparte.

Years of the Republic.							
I. 1792–3	V. 1796–7	VIII. 1799–1800	XI. 1802–3	XII. 1803–4.			
II. 1793–4	VI. 1797–8	IX. 1800–1	XIII. 1804–5				
III. 1794–5	VII. 1798–9	X. 1801–2	XIV. 1805				

		IV. 1795–6.*			
1 Vendémiaire	22 Sept.	1 Vendémiaire	23 Sept.	1 Vendémiaire	24 Sept.
9 "	30 "	8 "	30 "	7 "	30 "
10 "	1 Oct.	9 "	1 Oct.	8 "	1 Oct.
30 "	21 "	30 "	22 "	30 "	23 "
1 Brumaire	22 "	1 Brumaire	23 "	1 Brumaire	24 "
10 "	31 "	9 "	31 "	8 "	31 "
11 "	1 Nov.	10 "	1 Nov.	9 "	1 Nov.
30 "	20 "	30 "	21 "	30 "	22 "
1 Frimaire	21 "	1 Frimaire	22 "	1 Frimaire	23 "
10 "	30 "	9 "	30 "	8 "	30 "
11 "	1 Dec.	10 "	1 Dec.	9 "	1 Dec.
30 "	20 "	30 "	21 "	30 "	22 "
1 Nivôse	21 "	1 Nivôse	22 "	1 Nivôse	23 "
11 "	31 "	10 "	31 "	9 "	31 "
12 "	1 Jan.	11 "	1 Jan.	10 "	1 Jan.
30 "	19 "	30 "	20 "	30 "	21 "
1 Pluviôse	20 "	1 Pluviôse	21 "	1 Pluviôse	22 "
12 "	31 "	11 "	31 "	10 "	31 "
13 "	1 Feb.	12 "	1 Feb.	13 "	1 Feb.
30 "	18 "	30 "	19 "	30 "	20 "
1 Ventôse	19 "	1 Ventôse	20 "	1 Ventôse	21 "
10 "	28 "	9 "	28 "	9 "	29 "
11 "	1 March	10 "	1 March	10 "	1 March
30 "	20 "	30 "	21 "	30 "	21 "
1 Germinal	21 "	1 Germinal	22 "	1 Germinal	22 "
11 "	31 "	10 "	31 "	10 "	31 "
12 "	1 April	11 "	1 April	11 "	1 April
30 "	19 "	30 "	20 "	30 "	20 "
1 Floréal	20 "	1 Floréal	21 "	1 Floréal	21 "
11 "	30 "	10 "	30 "	10 "	30 "
12 "	1 May	11 "	1 May	11 "	1 May
30 "	19 "	30 "	20 "	30 "	20 "
1 Prairial	20 "	1 Prairial	21 "	1 Prairial	21 "
12 "	31 "	11 "	31 "	11 "	31 "
13 "	1 June	12 "	1 June	12 "	1 June
30 "	18 "	30 "	19 "	30 "	19 "
1 Messidor	19 "	1 Messidor	20 "	1 Messidor	20 "
12 "	30 "	11 "	30 "	11 "	30 "
13 "	1 July	12 "	1 July	12 "	1 July
30 "	18 "	30 "	19 "	30 "	19 "
1 Thermidor	19 "	1 Thermidor	20 "	1 Thermidor	20 "
13 "	31 "	12 "	31 "	12 "	31 "
14 "	1 Aug.	13 "	1 Aug.	13 "	1 Aug.
30 "	17 "	30 "	18 "	30 "	18 "
1 Fructidor	18 "	1 Fructidor	19 "	1 Fructidor	19 "
14 "	31 "	13 "	31 "	13 "	31 "
15 "	1 Sept.	14 "	1 Sept.	14 "	1 Sept.
30 "	16 "	30 "	17 "	30 "	17 "
Complementary days 1.	17 "	Complementary days 1.	18 "		
2.	18 "	2.	19 "		
3.	19 "	3.	20 "		
4.	20 "	4.	21 "		
5.	21 "	5.	22 "		
6.	22 "	6.	23 "		

The 6th Complementary day was used only for the sextile years III., VII., and XI.

* For the year IV of the Republic, after the 28th of February, use the first column under the year I, as 1796 was a Gregorian leap year. The 10th Ventôse was the 29th of February

Roman Numerals.

In connection with this subject, it seems proper that some mention should be made of dates and numbers, such as are found in old books and MSS., and on ancient sculptures and monuments. The Roman numerals, with which we are all familiar, are I, V, X, L, C, D, and M. Some of the others are rather more difficult to understand.

When the Romans wrote several units, following each other, the first and last were longer than the rest, thus IIIII In ancient MSS. four is written IIII, and not IV; nine thus VIIII, and not IX, etc. Instead of V, five units |III| were sometimes used in the eighth century. Half was expressed by an S at the end of the figures, CIIS was one hundred two and a half. This S sometimes appeared in the form of our 5. In some old MSS. the figures LXL are used to express ninety.

Q was sometimes used for 500, being the initial of Quingenti.

When Ↄ (a reversed C) is annexed to IↃ, it makes the value ten times greater, and in like manner, the annexing of Ↄ, and prefixing of C, increases its value tenfold. It has the power of the cipher 0 annexed to an Arabic numeral, and repeated.

Thousands were also expressed by a small line drawn over any numeral, thus $\overline{\text{I}}$ signifies 1000; $\overline{\text{VII}}$ 7000; $\overline{\text{LX}}$ 60,000; likewise $\overline{\text{M}}$ 1,000,000; $\overline{\text{MM}}$ 2,000,000, etc.

The Roman numerals were generally used in England, France, Italy, Germany, and Spain, from the earliest times, to the middle of the 15th century.

"The College accounts in the English universities were generally kept in the Roman numerals till the early part of the sixteenth century; nor in the parish registers were the Arabic characters adopted before the year 1600. The oldest date we have met with, in Scotland, is that of 1490, which occurs in the rent-roll of the diocese of St. Andrew's; the change from Roman to Arabic numerals occurring, with a corresponding alteration in the form of writing, near the end of the volume."[1]

[1] Encyclopædia Britannica.

"With respect to the dates of charters, the use of Roman ciphers was universal in all countries; but to avoid falling into error, it must be observed that in such dates, as well as those other muniments of France and Spain, the number for a thousand was sometimes omitted, the date beginning by hundreds; in others, the thousands were set down, and the hundreds left out; and in latter ages both thousands and hundreds were alike suppressed, and people began with the tens, as if —78 was put for 1778, a practice still followed in letters, and in affairs of trifling consequence.

"The numeral figures which have for some centuries prevailed in Europe are certainly Indian [East Indian]. The Arabians do not pretend to have been the inventors of them, but they ascribe their invention to the Indians, from whom they borrowed them. The numerals used by the Bramins, the Persians, the Arabians, and some other eastern nations are similar to each other, and the same characters were introduced into Europe, where they prevailed in the fifteenth century.

"The learned Dr. Wallis, of Oxford, delivers it as his opinion that the Indian or Arabic numerals were brought into Europe, together with other Arabic learning, about the middle of the tenth century, if not sooner."[1]

"The Saxon dates" on the table "are taken from the Danish and Norwegian registers, preserved in Suhm's Northern Collections.

"The oldest numerals are from a very curious Almanac, beautifully written on vellum, and belonging to the University of Edinburgh. It is calculated especially for the year 1492.

"Fac-similes from Caxton's *Mirrour of the World.* Shirwood's *Ludus Arithmomachiæ*, given in Dibdin's *Bibliotheca Spenceriana.*"[2]

[1] Astle's Origin and Progress of Writing—London, 1794.

[2] Encyclopædia Britannica.

ROMAN AND ARABIC NUMERALS.

AS FORMERLY USED.

I	1	XX or ⅩⅩ	20	C	100
IIII or IV	4	XXX or ⅩⅩⅩ	30	CCCC or CD	400
IIIII or V	5	XXXX or XL	40	D or Ↄ or Ɔ	500
IIIIII or VI	6	L	50	DC or ↀ	600
IIX or VIII	8	LX	60	DCC or ↀC	700
IX or VIIII	9	LⅩ or LXX	70	M or ↀ or Ⅿ or ↀↃ or	
X	10	XXC or LXXX	80	ⅅ or ∞ or ⋈	1.000

∞Ↄ or IIII or IV or XLↃↃ or CƆↃ or CCCCↃ 4,000
V or Ɔ or ↀↃ or Ↄ or ⅅ or ⅄ or Ⅴ or IZZ 5,000
X or ⅅ or ⅄ or ⋈Ↄ or ↀ or CCↀↃ 10.000
XV or ⅅ⅄ or ⅄⅄ or CCↀↃↀↃ 15.000
XX or ⅅⅅ or ⅄ↀ or CCↀↃCCↀↃ 20.000
L or ↀↃↃ or ↀↃↃ or ƆↃↃ 50,000
C or ↀↀ or CCCↀↃↃ or CCCↀↃↃ 100,000
D or ↀↃↃↃ or ƆↃↃↃ 500,000
M or CCCCↀↃↃↃ 1,000,000

SAXON NUMERALS.

ı v x l c ð m ᛘ ccccxcvm ī ccccxxxiiim Qx

1 5 10 50 100 500 1000 1398 1334 510

Progress of European Numerals.	*Variations of European Numerals.*	
1 2 3 ꝑ 4 6 ∧ 8 9 10 *Oldest MSS.*	1. ꟻ ϒ ϒ ιϛ	6. ☞ ☾ ☾ ☾ ☾
1 2 3 4 ɥ 6 ∧ 8 9 10 *Caxton, 1480.*	2. ⅂ ⅃ ⅁ ⅁ ⅁ ⊢ ⊬ ⊬ ⊬	7. ⅄ ⅄ ⅄ ⅄ ⅄
1 2 3 ꝑ ɥ 6 ∧ 8 9 10 *Shirwood, 1482.*	3. ⅂ ⅃ ⅁ 3 3 3	8. 8 ϐ ϐ ϐ 8
1 2 3 4 ɥ 6 7 8 9 ϰ *Old French.*	4. ϰ ϱ ϲ ϰ ϐ ϱ ϥ ϰ	9. ϥ ϒ 9 9
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 1 ɣ *Old English.*	5. ɑ ɥ ɥ ɥ ɥ ɥ ɥ 5 5	10. ☞ ⅃☞ ϒ☞ 10

৭ ২ ৩ ৪ ৭ ৫ ৭ ৫ ৯ ০ *Sanscrit.* ১ ২ ৩ ৪ ৫ ৬ ৭ ৮ ৯ ০ *Bengalee.* ١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧ ٨ ٩ ٠ *Arabic.*

The above table is a compilation, from BOISSARD'S ROMAN ANTIQUITIES, the ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA, and many other works, by Spencer Bonsall. ⅅↀↃↃↃLⅩIIX.

MADAME MONTOUR.

BY JOHN G. FREEZE,
BLOOMSBURG, COLUMBIA CO.

A sketch of this celebrated woman and her family will be properly introduced by a short description of the magnificent mountain ridge which bears her name.

Montour's Ridge rises somewhat abruptly on the West Branch of the Susquehanna, near the mouth of Chillisquaque Creek, in Northumberland County, Pennsylvania, and starting out in a northeast course becomes the boundary between the townships of Point and Chillisquaque in Northumberland County, and between Point and the townships of Liberty and Mahoning in Montour County, near Danville, where Mahoning Creek breaks through to the North Branch of the Susquehanna—thence becoming the boundary between Valley and Mahoning, and West Hemlock and Cooper, in Montour County; and between Hemlock and Montour in Columbia County; breaking down again where Hemlock Creek flows through into Fishing Creek, and again a short distance beyond where Fishing Creek rolls between its precipitous sides north of Bloomsburg off into the North Branch; then rising again and throwing toward the surface its rich iron deposits north and east of Bloomsburg, and sinking forever, after developing millions of tons of limestone, north and east of the town of Espy.

A geological axis of elevation passes nearly along the middle of the ridge, composed of hard gray and reddish sandstone, which are covered along both sides, sometimes nearly and sometimes quite to the top, by slates and shales of overlying series, the lower part of which consists of yellowish or greenish slates, containing thin strata of limestone, in which are impressions of shells and other fossils; and near these is a very valuable layer of brownish-red iron ore, from six inches to over two feet in thickness, also containing fossil

impressions. This ore is found on both sides of the ridge as far east as the vicinity of Bloomsburg, where the strata converge over its top as it sinks away on the east, and finally disappears under the overlying red shale in the neighborhood of Espytown. In the slates above the iron ore are some thin layers of dark-colored limestone, succeeded by a thick bed of red shale, which forms the upper portion of the series. Overlying this red shale is a limestone formation, which encircles the ridge outside of the red shale, and which may be seen not far from the river above Northumberland, and along the railroad from Danville to Bloomsburg; dipping under the Fishing Creek above its mouth, and passing under Bloomsburg, it rises again near Espy, and extends nearly to Berwick, where it sinks away beneath the overlying slate. A fine deposit of mantle and roofing slate of the very best quality develops itself on Little Fishing Creek about a mile above Bloomsburg. It has been wrought and approved by competent workmen and judges, and needs only capital and enterprise to become a recognized industry of the county.

Thus it will be seen that Montour's ridge is useful as well as ornamental, rich as well as rugged; yielding right at our doors iron ore, limestone, slate, and building stone in almost unlimited quantities.

Madame Montour, who gave her name to this beautiful range of hills, is a personage of considerable importance in the early history of Pennsylvania, and especially of the Susquehanna region. Her birth, her character, and her actions have been the subject of romance and of history. She has been the victim of vituperation as well as the heroine of eulogy. Her name has been used to dignify and horrify the Wyoming massacre. But neither romance nor history, neither vituperation nor eulogy, seems to have done her justice.

Madame Montour makes her first appearance in our history at a council held at Philadelphia on the 3d of July, 1727, between the Hon. Patrick Gordon, Lieutenant-Governor, and his council on one side, and divers Chiefs of the Five Nations, the Conestogoes, Gangawese, and Susquehanna Indians, on the other. The council being met and seated: "The

Governor told them by M. Montour, a French woman who had lived long among these people, and is now interpretress, that he was glad to see them all well after so long a journey, and was now ready with his council to receive what they have to say." The meetings continued several days, Madame Montour making the interpretations between the parties. She was at this time married to her second husband, Robert Hunter, *alias* Carondawana, a Chief of the Oneidas.[1] It is agreed on all hands that her first husband was Roland Montour, a brave of the Senecas. She had no children by her second husband, who was killed in a war with the Catawbas as early as the year 1729.

Madame Montour is by some writers alleged to have been the daughter of one of the French Governors of Canada, and to have been a lady in manners, style, and education. That she mingled in the best society of Philadelphia, and possessed great attractions of mind and person. But when we remember that she had a sister married to a brave of the Miamis, and was herself twice married to Indians of the Five Nations, it is more than likely that her claims to beauty, education, and refinement were not so positive as her admirers have asserted, yet, perhaps, they were far in advance of her husbands' and her swarthy companions.

An examination of the authorities seems to bring us to the conclusion that Madame Montour was a French Canadian without any admixture of Indian blood—that she was educated—that she preferred the Indian custom, and a roving and unsettled habit of life—and that the family into which she married were the French half-breeds who had a French Gov-

[1] And this statement of her marriage with Carondawana is repeated in 1728 in a communication of the Governor to the Board through James Le Tort of "a matter he had been informed of by Mistress Montour, who had married the Indian called Robert Hunter, & was here with her said husband last summer in company with those of the Five Nations," etc. Le Tort said, "That intending last fall to take a journey as far as the Miamis Indians, or Twechtweys, to trade with them, he had consulted Mrs. Montour, a French woman, wife to Carondawana, about his journey thither, who having lived amongst & having a sister married to one of that nation," &c.

ernor of Canada for their father, if, indeed, they were entitled to make any such claim. That in early life she married Roland Montour, a brave of the Senecas, who had a brother John, and a sister who was variously known as Catharine, Kate, Catrina, Catreen, and Queen Esther.

By her husband Roland Montour she had certainly four, and possibly five children. Andrew, Henry, and Robert are well known. We hear of Lewis also; and at a council in Philadelphia, June 18, 1733, before Thomas Penn, Esquire, Shekallamy, then at Shamokin as the head of the tribes, speaks of an Indian "named Katarioniecha, who is married to one Margaret, a daughter of Mrs. Montour," as living "in that neighborhood."

Whatever Roland Montour may have been, Madame had always been the friend of the Proprietary Government. And that reputation is enhanced, if possible, after her second marriage. In some instructions given in 1728 by Gov. Gordon to Henry Smith and John Petty, then about to visit the Susquehanna Indians, the Governor says: "Give my kind love also to Carundowana and his wife and speak to them to the same purpose. Lett him know I expect of him, that as he is a great Captain, he will take Care that all the People about him shall show themselves good Men & truehearted, as he is himself, and that I hope to see him at the Treaty." And again, in the same year, there is the following memorandum: "It was afterward considered by the Board what Present might be proper to be made to Mistress Montour & her husband, Carandowana, & likewise to Shikellima, of the Five Nations, appointed to reside among the Shanese, whose services had been and may yet be of great advantage to this Government; And it was agreed that Five Pounds in Bills of Credit should be given to Mistress Montour and her husband."

After the death of her second husband in 1729 she probably spent a good deal of her time in Philadelphia; and in 1734 several of the Oneidas and others coming to town, "Mrs. Montour, now in town but not a member of the delegation," was inquired of as to their standing and importance, and they

were entertained and rewarded with some reference to her information concerning them.

That such was the uniform character of the family of Madame Montour is further evidenced by the fact that at least two of her sons received large grants of "donation lands" from the Government. Henry's lay on the Chillisquaque, and Andrew's on the Loyal Sock, where Montoursville now stands.

In September, 1742, Shikellimy, the great Cayuga Chief, was living at Shamokin, and was there then visited by Conrad Weiser, Count Zinzendorf, Martin Mack and his wife, and several other persons. After spending some time at Shamokin, the "Count and part of his company forded the Susquehanna, and went to Ostonwackin on the West Branch. This place was then inhabited, not only by Indians, of different tribes, but by Europeans, who had adopted the Indian manner of life. Among the latter was a Frenchwoman, Madame Montour, who had married an Indian warrior (Carondowana, *alias* Robert Hunter), but lost him in a war against the Catawbas. She kindly entertained the Count for two days. The Count went soon after to Wyoming."

The authorities seem to locate the town of Otstonwakin at the mouth of the Loyal Sock Creek, now in Lycoming County. Rupp, in his History of Eight Counties, has the following remark: "When Count Zinzendorff visited Ostonwackin (or Frenchtown) he was met (July 30, 1742) by an Indian who understood French and English." Conrad Weiser, in a letter under date of March 1, 1755, to Governor Morris, speaking of some Shawanese Indians, who had lately come from the Ohio, says: "They jointly intend to make a town next spring, on the West Branch of Susquehanna, commonly called Otzinzachson, at a place called Otstuagy, or Frenchtown, about forty miles above Shamokin." And the Indians desired the Governor to send up some industrious people to fence a cornfield for them. Under date of June 12, 1755, Mr. Weiser says he has just returned from Otstuacky, an Indian town about forty-five miles above Shamokin, on the North West Branch of the Susquehanna River, "where I have been with

ten hired men to fence in a cornfield, for the Indians, according to your Honor's order." He says he left them a sack of flour, and that he left another at Canasoragy, about ten miles below Otstuacky. In the Journal of Mack and Grubé from Bethlehem to Quenischaschachki, they say: "In the afternoon of Sunday, Aug. 26, 1753, we launched our canoe and paddled up the river. Four miles above Shamokin we came to Logan's place . . . . On the 27th we arrived at John Shikellimy's hunting-lodge . . . . . After dinner we came to the mouth of Muncy Creek, forty miles above Shamokin. As the Susquehanna was high, and current rapid, we left our canoe in care of an Indian acquaintance, shouldered our packs, and keeping along the banks of the river, arrived at Otstonwakin in the evening." The distances are not to be depended upon, but a town at the mouth of Loyal Sock, now called Montoursville, and known over a hundred years ago as Otstuagy or Otstuacky or Otstonwakin, was in 1742 the residence of Madame Montour. She was with the Indians in June, 1744, at Lancaster at the treaty there made, and stated to Mr. Marsh that she was a daughter of a French Governor of Canada, that she was captured by the Five Nations at about the tenth year of her age, that she had married a famous Captain of those nations, by whom she had several children, and that her husband had been killed about fifteen years before, being about 1729. And that since his death she has not been married. She also stated that it was then near fifty years since she had been captured, making her in 1744 near sixty years of age. Spangenberg visited her at Shamokin in 1745, but after that I find no mention of her, and the time and place of her death are unknown. There is no authority for believing that she was alive, much less present, thirty-six years later, at the massacre of Wyoming. No history or authentic tradition connects Madame Montour with the shedding of any blood white or Indian; the whole tenor of her life forbids it, and the attempt to enhance the romance of a locality or a tragedy by naming her in connection with it, must be a failure.

That there was at the massacre of Wyoming an Indian

woman of consequence, who was known as "Queen Esther," is so confidently and widely asserted that it may scarcely be doubted—that she was the bloody and brutal executioner seems also certain, if the statements of escaped prisoners are trustworthy. She is alleged to have been old, is called by Mr. Miner "The Old Fury," and it is said that in 1779, her place and village on the banks of the Susquehanna was burned by Sullivan's expedition. The Montours were at the battle of Wyoming. Twenty-five years afterward a couple of Indians, known as Stuttering John and Roland Montour, admitted *that*, in a denial as to the participation of Brant in that massacre. But these Montours were not descendants of Madame Montour. The name Roland seems to have been a favorite, and it is entirely possible, therefore, that a Capt. Roland Montour may have been at that celebrated massacre. When we learn, also, that the Chief, wounded fatally at Freeland's Fort, and buried at Painted Post, was a son of Queen Esther, we may pretty safely conclude that the Queen Esther of the massacre may have been Madame Montour's sister-in-law. John and Catrina were all their lives unrelenting enemies of the English Colonists. Mr. Day speaks of "the celebrated Catharine Montour, sometimes called Queen Esther, whose more permanent residence was at Catharinestown, at the head of Seneca Lake, as being a half-breed, who had been well educated in Canada. Her reputed father was one of the French Governors of that Province, and she herself was a lady of comparative refinement. She was much caressed in Philadelphia, and mingled in the best society. She exercised a controlling influence among the Indians, and resided in this quarter [Tioga Point, Bradford County] while they were making their incursions upon the Wyoming settlements. It has been even suspected that she presided at the bloody sacrifice of the Wyoming prisoners after the battle; but Col. Stone, who is good authority upon the history of the Six Nations, utterly discredits the story."

Madame Montour did spend a good deal of her time in Philadelphia between the years 1729 and 1734, or even later, but how much she was caressed, and how much she mingled

in the best society is unknown. She was then a widow for the second time, according to some authorities, and if French, or of French extraction, she may have been a dashing one. Of her age we can only conjecture; but her son Andrew was a man with a family in 1748, and in 1733 her daughter Margaret is spoken of as being then married. Madame was probably born before the year 1690, and was no longer young at her first appearance in our history.

That the Montours, Roland, John, and Catharine were half-breeds, children of a French Governor of Canada, is altogether probable; but that Catharine, the sister of Roland, ever was the educated and refined and caressed lady of the best society of Philadelphia, is an entire misapprehension. There is no evidence that Catharine ever was in Philadelphia. Mr. Pearce asserts, notwithstanding Col. Stone's denial, that "Queen Esther" was at the massacre. If he means by "Queen Esther," Madame Montour, the French woman, the wife of Roland Montour, he is mistaken; but if he means Catrina Montour, the sister of Roland and John, then he may be right. The authority from whom Mr. Day quotes, has evidently confounded the two women. Madame Montour and Catharine Montour were very different persons. The Christian name of Madame Montour is not given in any authority which has come under my observation; and the person who had her castle at Tioga Point, and her town at the head of Seneca Lake was not the wife or widow of Roland Montour. Madame Montour had a daughter Margaret; might not that have been, too, the name of the mother? Between her and John and Catrina, there seems to have been no intercourse, at least they are never mentioned in connection with her, nor named as of her family. It is alleged that John and Catreen were both at the taking of Fort Freeland in July, 1779, that John received a wound there which proved fatal, and that he was buried at the "Painted Post."[1] The probabilities of this

[1] Judge McMaster, in his History of Steuben County, says that "Captain Montour, the Chief who was buried at the Painted Post, was a son of Queen Catharine, of Seneca Lake; and that he died of wounds received at Free-

story being true are increased when we remember the number of persons taken prisoners at that time, and that many of them returned from captivity, to whom the facts must have been well known, and by whom they would be correctly and graphically related.

In view of all the evidence now attainable, it seems possible that Madame Montour may have been of pure French extraction, and that Roland and his brother and sister may have been half-breeds. At any rate Madame is always spoken of as a *French woman*, and never as a half-breed, while Catharine is always distinguished as half-breed, although the brothers are seldom if ever so designated.

So much it has seemed necessary to say, that the truth of history might be vindicated, and the confusion or error which the authorities leave upon the mind might be dispelled—that the good reputation of Madame Montour might be as immovable as the rocks that underlie the beautiful Ridge which perpetuates her name, and that her memory should be as green and grateful as the pines that clothe its sides and wave over its summit.

N. B.—The spelling of the proper names is in accordance to my authorities, scarcely any two spelling the Indian names alike. J. G. F.

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land's Fort." He does not give the first name, and we are unable to tell whether it was John or Roland. It seems impossible to arrive at any certainty in these matters. Mr. Miner, in a note in his History of Wyoming, says that "Roland Montour, a half-blood," was at the massacre in 1778; but Mr. Carey, his informant, does not tell who Roland was. It is altogether probable that the same young warrior was at Freeland's Fort in July, 1779.

THE DESCENDANTS OF JÖRAN KYN, THE FOUNDER OF UPLAND.

BY GREGORY B. KEEN.

(Continued from Vol. II., page 456.)

6. ERICK KEEN,[3] son of Hans and Willemka Keen, was born at Upland, and removed with his father's family up the Delaware, where he grew to manhood, and married Catharine, daughter of Jan Claassen, younger sister of his brother Matthias Keen's wife. Through her he inherited fifty acres of land in Bristol Township, Bucks Co., Pa., part of his father-in-law's estate. He purchased, March 4, 1702–3, from his cousin Maons Keen three acres of land and meadow in Chester Township, Burlington Co., N. J., but whether he ever resided there cannot now be ascertained. On the 25th of January, 1706–7, his mother and brothers deeded to him a hundred acres acquired by Matthias Keen from Erick Möllicka, originally one of his father Hans Keen's tracts (the lower one of the two ascribed to "Enock and Keene" upon Holme's Map), situated on the Delaware River, at the mouth and along the eastern side of Wissinoming Creek. Erick Keen was already in possession of it, and he continued to dwell on it, engaged in agricultural pursuits, the rest of his life. His name appears in Pastor Andrew Rudman's list of the Lutheran congregation of Wicacoa in 1697–8, and in the first list of pewholders in Gloria Dei Church in 1705, and among contributors to the salaries of the Swedish clergy at sundry times. He subscribed to the erection of the present Church edifice in 1700, and lived to contribute to the repair of it in 1738, and aided in 1717 in building the parsonage at Passyunk, and was for many years Vestryman and Warden of the Congregation of Wicacoa. He was one of the gentlemen who made the present of American fur to Mr. Secretary Lilljeblad, spoken of in the account of Matthias Keen, and signed the petition, also there referred

to, addressed to the General Assembly of the Province on occasion of certain grievances inflicted on the Swedes by the Proprietary Government. After the death of his first wife he married Brigitta (her surname unknown to us), who survived him. His will is dated January 7, 1741–2, and was admitted to probate on the 28th of the same month. He was, without doubt, buried in Gloria Dei Churchyard, although no tombstone marks the position of his grave.

By his first wife he had five children:

25. Hans, m. Mary Laican.
26. Peter, b. February 26, 1703; m., 1st, Margaret; 2dly, Ann.
27. John.
28. Matthias, m. Sarah Harper.
29. Catharine, m. Robert Glen.

By his second wife he had three children:

30. Daniel, b. 1722–3; m. Elizabeth McCarty.
31. Jonas, b. 1725–6, resided on his father's farm in Oxford Township (bequeathed to his brother Daniel Keen and him) at least until the spring of 1753. He married (his wife's name not known), and had issue living in 1765, and was killed by a stroke of lightning.
32. Mary, in her father's will directed "to be brought up by her mother and brothers," Daniel and Jonas, "till of age or married."

10. Måns, Mounce, or Moses Keen,[3] "son and heir of Jonas Keen," was born at Upland, October, 1664,* and in his youth removed with his father to West New Jersey, where he lived on the banks of the river Delaware, at the mouth of Pompession Creek. After his father's death he sold this land, and in one of the deeds for it, dated December 24, 1719, is styled "of Pittsgrove Precinct, Co. Salem." He was one of the most active Vestrymen and Wardens of the Swedish Lutheran Church on Raccoon Creek (now Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church, Swedesboro, N. J.), and, doubtless, one of the contributors to the first building of it, in 1703–4, as he certainly was to the purchase of the pastor's dwelling some years afterwards. With regard to the latter, Acrelius† says: "The

* The only evidences for this date are the statements of his age at the time of his death.

† "History of New Sweden," p. 323.

congregation deliberated about this for eight years, and it was discussed in every Parish meeting, until Mr. Jesper Svedberg* and Måns Kyn took it upon themselves to go from house to house, and urge the people to unite and bind themselves for the purchase of a suitable Parsonage. Göran Kyn's†

* He was the son of Dr. Jesper Svedberg, the Bishop of Skara (who had jurisdiction over the Swedish Lutheran Congregations on the Delaware), and brother to the noted heresiarch, Emmanuel Swedenborg. He was at this time acting as teacher of the school near Raccoon Church, a post he filled for over a year.

† The Göran Kyn, or George Keen, here referred to, was a Warden of the Lutheran Congregation at Raccoon, and either a brother, or a cousin-german of Maons Keen—in the latter case, of course, the person elsewhere mentioned as the son of Hans and Willemka Keen. He m., 1st, October 30, 1705, Anna or Annika, second child of Nils and Maria Gästenberg, of Lower Dublin Township, Philadelphia Co., Pa., and granddaughter of Olof Nilsson Gästenberg, an early settler on the Delaware, b. 1683, d. 1706 (leaving one child, Annika, who m. Andrew Toy, son, doubtless of Elias Toy, of Senamensing, New Jersey); and, 2dly, November, 1706, Helena, daughter of Erick Pålsson Möllicka, a native of Mora Parish, in the Province of Helsingland, Sweden, an early emigrant to our river, by his wife Ingeborg, daughter of Captain Israel Helm, of Sweden (by whom he had several children, most of whom died in infancy). According to a note made fully fifty years afterwards by the Rev. Nicholas Collin to an entry in the Parish Register, he d. in April, 1736, and was buried the 10th in Raccoon Swedish Cemetery. Perhaps, however, this was his son, of the same name, b. October 14, 1717, and he may, possibly, be the person whose marriage (in that case his third one) is thus described in "Abraham Reincke's private record of official acts in the Brethren's mission of New Jersey" (see Appendix to Acrelius's "History," p. 444): "Married, June 8, 1745, George Kyn, a widower, aged 64, to Margaret Justis, a widow, aged 53, after the banns had been thrice published—first in Raccoon, next in Penn's Neck, and for the last time in Maurice River. The ceremony was performed in the groom's house on Maurice River, in the presence of the entire Swedish Congregation of said neighbourhood." This George Keen had land surveyed to him on the east side of Maurice River, July 14, 1737; and purchased, September 20, the same year, ninety acres of land in Gloucester County, on the east side of Oldman's Creek. He left a son Erick, styled in 1750 his "only surviving heir-at-law," who m. (Raccoon Swedish Church Register) November 17, 1736, Catharine Denny, with issue several children, who intermarried with the families of Lippincott, Hickman, Ecard, and Chester, and left posterity. And he may have been the father of Catharine Keen, who m. (ibid.), December 11, 1734, Samuel Cabb, of Maurice River, a son, doubtless, or

place was found suitable for this purpose, at the distance of about a Swedish mile from Raccoon, and a mile and a half from Pennsneck. It lies in Pilesgrove township, consists of one hundred and seventeen acres of land, and cost £145. The purchase was made on the 21st of March, 1720. A fine building was erected upon it, with sleeping-rooms in the upper part; and more land for grain was cleared." Mr. Keen appears to have retained his knowledge of the Swedish language, in spite of the gradually encroaching influences of English settlers on the Delaware, for in the following spring he is spoken of in the Parish Records as receiving from Sweden two Bibles, three Hymn-books, and a Catechism. On the return to Europe of the Reverend Samuel Hesselius, pastor of the congregation at Christina,* he signed an address, in company with Peter Rambo, as members of the Church Council of Raccoon, October 31, 1731, commending that clergyman to the consideration of King Frederick, of Sweden. He was visited by Peter Kalm during the prolonged sojourn of the celebrated botanist in the neighbourhood of Raccoon Creek, and some of their conversations are recorded in the interesting journal of the great naturalist's "Travels into North America."† He is personally referred to by Professor Kalm,

grandson of William Cabb or Cobb, of Amasland, Pa., an owner of the old Swedes' mill erected by Governor Printz upon the creek which bears Cobb's name, and one of the four Wardens, who, in 1703, received conveyance of the ground on which Raccoon Swedish Lutheran Church was built.

* Successor to his brother, Provost Andreas Hesselius. He arrived in this country December 3, 1719, and officiated in the beginning as Pastor Extraordinary to the Congregation of Wicacoa, with special charge of the people who resided at Neshaminy, Manathanim, and Matzong (the present Conshohocken). He married, first (Christina Swedish Lutheran Church Register), June 9, 1720, Brita Laican, and, secondly, Gertrude Stille, both relatives of descendants of Jöran Kyn. The latter wife, according to Acrelius, "died upon the voyage between America and England, and was buried in the ocean. The children, who returned home, were Andrew, Christina, Sarah, and Samuel."

† Translated into English by John Reinhold Forster, F.A.S., and published at Warrington, 1770. One of these, vol. i. pp. 355–6, relates to certain geological evidences of the former submergence of that portion of New Jersey under the sea; and another, vol. ii. pp. 31–33, refers to strange

December 7, 1748, in the following terms: "Maons Keen, one of the Swedes in Raccoon, was now near seventy years old: he had many children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren; so that, of those who were yet alive, he could muster up forty-five persons. Besides them, several of his children and grandchildren died young, and some in a mature age. He was, therefore, uncommonly blessed." In 1751 Mr. Keen acted as sponsor for a son of the Reverend Erick and Maria Unander, in company with "Provost Israel Acrelius, Pastor Olof Parlin, Herr Adolph Benzel, Elizabeth Parlin, Madam Sarah Porter, and Helena Van Neeman." Mr. Keen's first wife was Magdalena Hoppman or Hoffman.* She died October 19, 1721, and was buried in the Swedish Lutheran Cemetery on Raccoon Creek. He married, secondly, August 15, 1722, Elizabeth, daughter of Nils Laican or Lycon, eldest son of Peter Nilsson Laykan, a native, it is presumed, of Sweden,† whose name is given in the Raccoon Church Register

discoveries of deep-buried earthen vessels and walls of brick at "Helsingburg, somewhat below the place where Salem is now situated," indicating the presence of a more civilized people than the American Indians on the river Delaware before the arrival of the Swedish Colonists. The extract in the text occurs in volume ii., page 4. The phrase "*near* seventy years old" is to be explained or corrected in accordance with the first of the previously mentioned passages, where Mr. Keen is described as "a Swede *above* seventy years old."

* Granddaughter, probably, of Sergeant Hans Hopman, a resident on the river Delaware at least as early as 1656, and one of the "Tydables" of the "Eastern Shore" in 1677, whose son, Frederick Hopman, was one of the four Wardens of Raccoon Swedish Lutheran Church referred to in a former note.

† Niece of Hans Laican, who m. Gertrude, daughter of Jan Claassen, of Bucks County, Pa., and sister-in-law to Maons Keen's cousins-german, Matthias and Erick Keen. Mrs. Keen's sister, Anna Laican, m. John Rambo, a kinsman of Peter Rambo, who m. (v. inf.) Christina Keen; and her youngest sister, Mary Laican, m. Hans Keen, son of Erick and Catharine (Claassen) Keen. Nils Laican d. in the Northern Liberties, Philadelphia Co., December 4, 1721, aged 55 years, and is buried in Gloria Dei Churchyard, Philadelphia, by the side of William Williams, son of Donck and Walborg Williams, of Bensalem Township, Bucks Co., Pa. (d. December 25, 1721, aged 42 years), who m. Elizabeth, another daughter of Jan Claassen, of Bucks County, and sister-in-law to Hans Laican and Matthias and Erick Keen.

as Elizabeth Georgen, from whence we may infer that at the time of her nuptials with Maons Keen she was a widow. Mrs. Keen inherited from her father an interest in certain land in the Northern Liberties, Philadelphia Co., Pa., known as "Poor Island" (surveyed to her grandfather by virtue of a warrant dated March 10, 1679–80), which she conveyed, December 21, 1744, to her stepsons, John and Nicholas Keen. She is mentioned in the Records of Raccoon Parish as godparent, in 1730, with Colonel Rolf, Captain Vining, and Mrs. Hollbrook, for a daughter of the Reverend Peter and Anna Catharina Tranberg, and she was still living during the pastorate of the Reverend John Wicksell, who gives her name in the list of communicants of that church. The latter thus records her husband's death: "Moses Keen, Senior, died June 3, 1770, in a kind of pleurisie,* about 105 years old, and was buried, June 5, at Raccoon." Less accurate as to the date of death, but more precise as to the age, "The Pennsylvania Gazette" for October 11, 1770, prints the following obituary notice of the long-lived gentleman: "The beginning of August last departed this Life at Pilesgrove, in West New Jersey, Mr. Mounce Keen, aged 105 Years, and 8 Months. He was born of Swedish Parents, at Chester, in Pennsylvania, and always enjoyed his Health and Understanding well till within the

* An interesting account of this malady is given by Kalm in the work already cited, vol. i. pp. 376–9. "The pleurisy," he says, "is a disease which the people of this country are much subject to. The Swedes in this province call it stitches and burning (*stick och bränna*). Many people die every year of it. In the autumn of the year 1728 it swept away many at Penn's Neck. Almost all the Swedes there died of it, though they were very numerous. The autumn of the year 1748 it began to make dreadful havock, and every week six or ten of the old people died. The disease was so violent that, when it attacked a person, he seldom lived above two or three days; and of those who were taken ill with it very few recovered. It was a true pleurisy, but it had a peculiarity with it, for it commonly began with a great swelling under the throat and in the neck, and with a difficulty of swallowing. Some people looked upon it as contagious. The physicians did not know what to make of it, nor how to remedy it." It is, probably, the disease referred to in the Parish Register by Pastor Wicksell, who, after giving a list of the "permanent communicants" in his time (1762–74), explains—"these few, owing to great sickness taking off so many of the old Swedes."

few last Years of his Life. About three Years before his Death, he rode alone three Miles, and home again." He is, it is believed, the only centenarian descendant of Jöran Kyn, although there are several nonagenarian descendants, and offspring of at least four centenarians* have intermarried with the family.

Of his children by his first wife three have been identified:†

* Nicolas de la Plaine, aged 105 years (see Rev. Timothy Alden's "Collection of American Epitaphs," pentade i. vol. v. pp. 174–5); Mrs. Hannah Milner, aged 100 years and 10 months ("The Pennsylvania Gazette," July 13, 1769); Arthur Strangeways, aged 101 years (Watson's "Annals of Philadelphia," 1st ed. p. 511); and John Strangeways Hutton, aged 108 years and 4 months (ibid. pp. 510–11, and "The Inscriptions in St. Peter's Church Yard, Philadelphia," p. 313).

† Another child, most probably, was Christina Keen, who m. (Raccoon Swedish Church Register), December 2, 1724, Peter Rambo, of Gloucester County, N. J. (b. January 6, 1694; d. April–May, 1753), a Warden of the Church on Raccoon Creek (at whose house Professor Kalm on one occasion ("Travels," vol. i. p. 334) "staid the night"), son of John Rambo, described in "The Breviate, Penn *v.* Lord Baltimore," f. 103, in 1740, as "of New Jersey, Farmer, aged 79, born in the Place now called Pensilvania, near where the City of Philadelphia now stands, where he resided for above the first 20 Years of his Life, and since resided in the Jerseys." The latter was the youngest brother of Gunnar and Peter Rambo, Members of the Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania for Philadelphia County, and the son of Peter Gunnarsson Rambo, of Sweden (who came to America with Minuit or Hollender), a Magistrate of the Swedish Colony, appointed Commissary by Gov. Stuyvesant, Member of Captain Carr's Council by Gov. Lovelace, and finally, by Gov. Andros, one of the "Justices for the River." Peter Rambo's mother was Brita Cock, sister of Capt. Lawrence Cock, Justice of Upland Court, and Member of Gov. Markham's and subsequent Provincial Councils, and of the Assembly of Pennsylvania for Philadelphia County, Penn's first Interpreter with the Indians, and daughter of Peter Larsson Kock (by his wife Margaret), who was sent out from Sweden in 1641, in the service of the West India Company, and settled on a tobacco plantation on the Schuylkill, but some years afterwards received his freedom, and occupied the same offices as are above accredited to Peter Gunnarsson Rambo, besides being "Collector of Tolls on Imports and Exports for the Colony of the City of Amsterdam on the South River" (the Delaware). Peter and Christina (Keen) Rambo had seven children: of whom two sons, John (b. November, 1725), and Benjamin (b. March 3, 1732), each married twice, and

33. Mounce, b. August 18, 1715; m. Sarah Seeley.
34. John, b. September 25, 1718; m. Rachel Chandler.
35. Nicholas, b. May 11, 1720; m. Elizabeth Lock.

By his second wife he had at least five children, born in Salem County, New Jersey:

36. Peter, b. March 21, 1723; m. 1st, ——; 2dly, Catharine.
37. Mary, b. April 6, 1727.
38. David, b. April 28, 1735.
39. Mounce, b. October 8, 1737.
40. Jonas, b. April 7, 1739.

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left numerous descendants; and a daughter, Elizabeth (b. January 2, 1728), m. Thomas Denny, Sheriff of Gloucester Co., N. J., whose daughter, Rachel (b. October 30, 1749), m., March 25, 1772, Robert Brown, Esq., Lieutenant-Colonel of the First Battalion of Gloucester County Militia, and of Colonel Nicholas Stilwell's Regiment of New Jersey State Troops, in the War of the Revolution, and chief contributor to, and trustee of, the fund for building the present Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church in Swedesboro, N. J.

Another child may, possibly, have been Annika Keen, who m. (Raccoon Swedish Church Register), December 7, 1726, Gustaf Gustafsson (or Justis), of West New Jersey (d. July 15, 1762, aged 65 years), grandson, doubtless, of Jöns Göstafsson Illack, of Sweden, who "bought a piece of ground," says the aged son of the latter, Nils Gustafsson, in the course of a long conversation with Professor Kalm on the customs of the early Swedish settlers on our river (Kalm's "Travels," vol. ii. p. 118), "from the Indians in New Jersey." They had several children, who intermarried with the families of Dahlbo, String, and Cox, and left posterity.

(To be continued.)

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1776.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF ITS MEMBERS.

BY WM. H. EGLE, M.D.

[From the time of William Penn to the Declaration of Independence, the government of Pennsylvania was administered under the Royal Charter granted to the founder, and the several concessions made by him to the settlers. The prosperity which was attained under this form of government endeared it to the majority of those living in the Province, and all attempts failed to change it in any of its vital points.

The most perilous period of its existence was the decade of years following the defeat of Braddock. At the time of that event, the inhabitants of the western frontier counties, having no scruples about bearing arms, were clamorous for the adoption of measures to prevent the incursions of the French and Indians. The Assembly, however, was under the influence of the Friends, and an anti-proprietary party, which opposed the expenditure of money for any purpose unless the estates of the Penns were subjected to the same taxation as those of others. Under these circumstances it was with the greatest difficulty that the Province was placed upon a war footing, and a feeling of uneasiness and anxiety was awakened that could not be allayed even by retreat of the Proprietaries from the stand they had taken, or the successful close of the war—the confidence of many having been shaken in the belief that the existing form of government was the best that could be devised for the Province.

By 1774, quiet had in a great measure returned to the legislative councils of Pennsylvania. In that year the conduct of Tories in the Assembly, under the lead of Galloway, awakened the ill feeling against the Proprietary Charter, which had well nigh died out, and the sins of those who acted under it were visited upon the instrument itself. The people lent a more willing ear to the dictates of the Committees of Safety, and to the wishes of the Continental Congress than to the Assembly, and the government soon became a mere semblance of authority.

The advice of Congress, in May, 1776, that governments sufficient to the exigencies of affairs should be established in such Colonies as they did not already exist, was seized upon by the zealous Whigs of Pennsylvania as the excuse for the abrogation of the old government. A convention to form a new Constitution was called early in July, and it is to the biographical sketches of the members of that body, that we now invite the attention of our readers. We will not attempt to say aught regarding the merits of their labors, as opinions regarding them could probably be debated

with as much warmth to-day as they were during the last century. That the necessity for some change in the government was thought indispensable is obvious from the faint resistance that was made to the choosing of delegates.

When the work of the Convention was made public, it called forth the opposition of a number of Whigs, who had not lost faith in the old government. While giving a hearty support to the cause of the Revolution, they thought the true interests of Pennsylvania could be best served by the election of men of undoubted patriotism to office under its original charter. The views of this class will be found expressed in Charles Thomson's letters to William Henry Drayton (PENNA. MAG., vol. ii. p. 420), and they never appear to have changed their opinions in the case. Gen. John Cadwalader, one of the number, was so opposed to the constitution of '76, that he became a citizen of Maryland rather than live under it.

The motives of the men who formed the Convention have remained unquestioned. Unlearned in statecraft, they framed what they thought the best form of government for the people they represented, and as their lives will show gave many anxious days for its protection and support.—ED.]

ALEXANDER, HUGH, of Cumberland Co., the eldest son of John Alexander and Margaret Glasson, was born near Glasgow, Scotland, in the year 1724. His parents came to America in 1736, and settled in West Nottingham, Chester County —but prior to 1753 removed and took up land in Sherman's Valley, now Perry County. Mr. Alexander was a deputy to the Provincial Conference of June, 1776, and a member of the Convention which met on July 15 of that year. Under the first Constitution he was chosen a Member of the Assembly, taking his seat on November 28th. His public life was brief, for he died while a member of that body, in the early part of the year 1777, in Philadelphia, and was interred in the Spruce Street burying-ground. He married, first, in 1753, Martha Edmeston, daughter of Dr. David Edmeston, of Fagg's Manor, by whom they had—*Margaret*, b. 1754, m. Capt. John Hamilton, of Fermanagh, in 1772; *John*, b. 1756, m. Margaret Clark, of Sherman's Valley, in 1780; *Mary*, b. 1760, m. Robert Clark in 1780; *David*, b. 1762, m. Margaret Miller in 1780; *Hugh*, b. 1765, m. Jemima Patterson, of Juniata Co., in 1787. Secondly, Mr. Alexander married Mrs. Lettice Thompson, and had—*James*, b. 1775, lived and died at McKeesport, Pennsylvania; *William* and *Emily*, b. 1777. Mr. Alexander was a staunch Whig, and took

a very active part in the organization of the Associators of Cumberland County. A rigid Presbyterian of the Rev. George Duffield's congregation; he was a man of pure and high character, and his memory is held in esteem by numerous descendants, scattered through the West and South.

Antes, Philip Frederick, of Philadelphia Co., the third child of Henry Antes and Christina De Weesin, was born near Falkner's Swamp, Philadelphia, now Montgomery County, Pa., July 2, 1730. He received a good German education, and learned the trade of an iron-founder. In 1764 he was appointed one of his Majesty's Justices for the county of Philadelphia. Early espousing the cause of the Colonies, in November, 1774, he was chosen a member of the first Committee of Inspection for Philadelphia. He was a member of the Convention of July 15, 1776, and under the government it formed was twice elected member of the Assembly. At the request of the Committee of Safety, early in 1775, Mr. Antes successfully cast at Warwick furnace, for the Revolutionary Army, the first four-pound cannons made on this side of the Atlantic. During the occupancy of Philadelphia by the British, his situation among the Tories of the locality was insecure, and by the advice of his friends he removed to Northumberland County, of which he became presiding justice of the peace, and from 1784 to 1787 served in the Assembly. Col. Antes followed the business of gunsmith at Northumberland, and Dr. Priestley in his memoirs speaks of the great aid he received from him in making his philosophical instruments. He was appointed by Gov. Mifflin as one of the Commissioners in exploration of the Susquehanna, and while acting in that capacity he took cold at Columbia, and repairing to Lancaster, died there Sept. 20, 1801. He was buried in the Reformed Church grave-yard. Col. Antes's daughter, Catharine, was the second wife of Gov. Simon Snyder. She died March 15, 1810, at Lancaster, then the seat of State Government, and is buried by the side of her father.

ARNDT, JACOB, of Northampton Co , native of Langendorf, Upper Silesia, Germany, the son of Bernhardt Arndt, was born about the year 1728, emigrating with some of the Moravian brethren to Pennsylvania in 1743, and settled in Bucks, now Northampton County. He was naturalized under the laws of the Province Sept. 24, 1753, having taken the sacrament on the 9th of the same month. At the breaking out of the French and Indian War he raised a company of volunteers, and was stationed on the frontiers. In 1755 was in command at Gnadenhütten, April 19, 1756, he was commissioned Captain in the 1st Battalion of the Penn'a Regiment, and during that and the following year was assigned to the command respectively of Forts Allen and Norris. He was promoted major of the 1st Battalion June 2, 1758, and stationed at Fort Augusta. During the Indian marauds of 1764, he was captain of an independent company raised in his neighborhood for self-defence. Major Arndt was chosen a member of the Provincial Conference, held at Philadelphia July 15, 1774, and of that of January 23, 1775. He served as member of the Convention of July, 1776; of the first Assembly under the new Constitution; of the Committee of Safety Oct. 17, 1777, and was elected a member of the Supreme Executive Council Nov. 5, 1777, serving until Oct. 14, 1780. He was appointed Commissioner of Excise for Northampton County April 5, 1779, a position which he held for several years. From 1782 to 1784 he again served in the General Assembly. In 1760 Major Arndt purchased a mill-seat three miles above Easton, on the Bush-kill, where the celebrated millwright of Bethlehem, and the projector of the first water-works at that place, Christensen, erected a mill for him. He was a member of the Council of Censors, and one of the justices for Northampton County. For half a century Major Arndt was in active public life. He died at Easton in the year 1805. His son *John*, a captain in the Revolutionary Army, was wounded and taken prisoner at Long Island.

Barr, James, of Westmoreland Co., was born in Lancaster County in 1749. He removed to Westmoreland County prior to its organization, and located in Derry township. At the outset of the Revolution he was energetic in assisting the formation of the associated battalions both for general and frontier defence; was chosen a member of the Convention of July 15, 1776; served as justice of the peace subsequent thereto, and from 1787 to 1790 was a member of the General Assembly, in which he opposed the calling of the Constitutional Convention of 1790. He was, however, an associate-judge of Westmoreland County under that Constitution, and in 1802 signed a remonstrance against the impeachment of Judge Addison, then president-judge of the district. On the organization of Armstrong County, Judge Barr was in the new county, and was appointed one of the commissioners for laying out the town of Kittanning, the county seat. He was appointed one of the first associate-judges of Armstrong County, an office which he filled until his death, which occurred May 11, 1824.

Bartholomew, Benjamin, of Chester Co., was born February 16, 1752, in the Great Valley, Chester County, Pennsylvania. He was a descendant of the Bartholomew family of France, many of whom, and among them the great-grandfather of Benjamin Bartholomew, emigrated to Great Britain to escape religious persecution. From England the family sailed to America, with the first settlers under William Penn, one of whom, Joseph Bartholomew, was an agriculturist of distinction and wealth, and allotted to his son Benjamin a valuable farm. From 1772 to 1775 this son was a member of Assembly from Chester County, and of the Committee of Safety from June 30, 1775, to March 13, 1777. He was a member of the Convention of July 15, 1776, and subsequently commissioned as captain in the Penn'a Line of the Revolution, continuing in service several years. After the close of the Revolutionary contest Capt. Bartholomew married Rachel, daughter of William Dewees, and settled on an extensive farm in East Whiteland township, Chester County, in the

vicinity of his birthplace. He died on his well-cultivated estate March 31, 1812, and his remains are interred in the burying-ground of the Baptist Church, Tredyffrin. His descendants still occupy the ancestral farm. His daughter, *Mary*, married Col. Cromwell Pearce of the U. S. Army.

Bartholomew, Edward, of Philadelphia Co., the son of John Bartholomew, and cousin of Benjamin, was born in Montgomery township, Philadelphia, now Montgomery County, in 1751, and brought up as a farmer. He was one of the Committee of Inspection of the county in 1774, member of the Provincial Conference at Carpenter's Hall June 18, 1775, and member of the Convention of July 15, 1776. He commanded a battalion of Associators serving in the Jerseys during that year. In 1778 he was one of the County Commissioners, and in 1785 Collector of Excise for the city and county. To the latter office he was re-appointed by Gov. Mifflin Sept. 1, 1791. On the 13th of November, 1802, while returning from a visit to his daughter at Huntingdon, he called to see his old friend, Dr. Robert Johnston, a skilful surgeon of the Penn'a Line of the Revolution, at his residence near Greencastle, Franklin County. In attempting to mount his horse on leaving for Chambersburg, en route home, one of his loaded pistols went off by accident, and he was fatally wounded, expiring in a few hours. His body was embalmed by Dr. Johnston, and taken to Philadelphia for interment. One of Col. Bartholomew's daughters married Andrew Henderson, a distinguished lawyer of Huntingdon, and the first recorder, etc., of that county upon its organization. Gen. H. was a member of the Convention which framed the Constitution of 1790.

RECORDS OF CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

BURIALS, 1709–1760.

CONTRIBUTED BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

(Continued from page 462, Vol. II.)

Sept. 8, 1728.	Dennis,	Elizabeth, dau. of John.
Dec. 5, 1732.	"	Rachel, wife of John.
Dec. 13, 1736.	"	Susannah, dau. of John.
July 23, 1738.	"	John, son of John.
July 20, 1756.	"	Richard.
Aug. 17, 1731.	Denton,	Thomas.
Jan. 1, 1755.	"	John.
April 22, 1755.	"	——— widow.
Jan 22, 1753.	Depuy,	Eleanor, dau. of Daniel.
Sept. 17, 1756.	"	——— dau. of Daniel.
Aug. 25, 1718.	Derickson,	Sarah, dau. of Swan and Sarah.
Feb. 27, 1759.	Dervis,	——— dau. of Joseph.
June 2, 1729.	Deval,	William, son of John. P.
April 8, 1731.	Devall,	Mary, dau. of John.
Aug. 1, 1742.	"	John. Poor.
Aug. 1, 1742.	"	John, son of John. Poor.
Aug. 6, 1739.	Deverill,	John, son of John.
July 31, 1734.	Devoll,	John, son of John.
Sept. 29, 1736.	Dewberry,	Henry.
Nov. 26, 1746.	"	George, son of George.
July 3, 1749.	Dewsberry,	Sarah, dau. of George.
Sept. 21, 1747.	Dewsbury,	Sarah, dau. of George.
April 17, 1722.	Dexter,	Lettice.
July 29, 1729.	"	Mary, dau. of John.
Jan. 19, 1731–2.	"	Lettice, wife of Henry. Pall.
July 9, 1733.	"	Mary, dau. of John.
Jan. 16, 1734–5.	"	Mary, wife of Henry.
July 2, 1743.	"	Richard, son of Henry.
Feb. 5, 1749–50.	"	Henry.
June 25, 1750.	"	George, son of Elianor.
Feb. 17, 1747–8.	Dicas,	Randal.
Aug. 28, 1752.	Dickey,	Anne.
Nov. 19, 1748.	Dickinson,	Sarah, dau. of Charles.
Dec. 14, 1750.	"	Nathaniel, son of Charles.
Oct. 23, 1759.	"	——— dau. of William.

Dec. 28, 1732.	Dickson,	William.
June 6, 1756.	"	——— dau. of Robert.
Aug. 22, 1759.	"	Damaris.
Sept. 5, 1728.	Dilling,	Ruth, dau. of John.
Sept. 22, 1728.	"	Anne, dau. of John.
Aug. 15, 1717.	Dilworth,	John.
Aug. 9, 1746.	"	Hannah, dau. of James.
July 18, 1747.	"	Mary, dau. of James.
June 28, 1753.	"	Mary, dau. of James.
June 14, 1755.	"	James.
Sept. 17, 1711.	Dirixon,	Mary, dau. of Swan and Sarah.
Jan. 20, 1736–7.	Dixon,	Sarah.
Aug. 26, 1754.	"	Francis, son of James.
Oct. 8, 1754.	"	James, son of James.
Oct. 31, 1748.	Dod,	Thomas.
June 4, 1728.	Dodd,	William. Strangers' Ground.
Oct. 18, 1743.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Thomas.
Oct. 6, 1747.	"	William, son of Thomas.
Dec. 17, 1752.	"	Alice.
Feb. 1, 1756.	"	Elizabeth.
Nov. 26, 1755.	Dodge,	Susannah, dau. of Thomas.
Dec. 8, 1756.	"	Thomas.
April 3, 1758.	"	Thomas.
Jan. 25, 1718–9.	Dodson,	Jane, dau. of Thomas and Mary.
Sept. 30, 1721.	Dolby,	Elizabeth.
June 17, 1746.	"	William, son of Abram.
Aug. 13, 1717.	Doldren,	Theophilus.
Dec. 28, 1736.	Dollas,	Jane, dau. of James.
July 21, 1738.	"	Mary, dau. of James.
July 2, 1740.	"	Anne, dau. of James.
Dec. 4, 1743.	Dolmarsh,	Jane. Widow
June 22, 1750.	Donaldson,	Nathaniel, son of Nathaniel.
July 27, 1752.	"	Elizabeth, wife of James.
Dec. 3, 1753.	"	William.
Oct. 18, 1756.	"	——— son of Joseph.
Aug. 15, 1757.	"	Sarah, dau. of Joseph.
Dec. 10, 1745.	Donalon,	Elizabeth, wife of John. Poor.
Mar. 17, 1759.	Dordon,	——— dau. of Henry.
Mar. 27, 1711–12.	Douce,	Living.
Dec. 26, 1754.	Dougherty,	George, son of George.
Nov. 27, 1757.	"	——— dau. of James.
June 27, 1759.	"	James.
Mar. 27, 1736–7.	Douglas,	John, son of Archibald.
Dec. 28, 1715.	Douglass,	John.
Dec. 26, 1756.	Dothwite,	John.

April 6, 1732.	Dover,	Richard, son of Thomas.
June 1, 1747.	Dowel,	John, son of William.
July 29, 1751.	"	Mary, wife of Capt.
Aug. 18, 1752.	"	Mary, dau. of William.
July 13, 1753.	"	William, son of William.
July 19, 1739.	Dowers,	Edward, son of Edward.
July 26, 1742.	"	Susannah, dau. of Capt. Edw'd.
July 24, 1743.	"	Mary, dau. of Edward.
Aug. 1, 1746.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Capt. Edw'd.
Sept. 8, 1747.	"	Martha, dau. of Edward.
Oct. 5, 1748.	"	Amelia, dau. of Edward.
July 14, 1749.	"	William, son of Edward.
Jan. 24, 1750–1.	"	Catherine, wife of Capt.
June 15, 1755.	"	Oliver.
Aug. 8, 1759.	Downer,	Hannah, dau. of Thomas.
Aug. 24, 1759.	"	George, son of Thomas.
July 5, 1746.	Downey,	Elizabeth, dau. of Simon.
Dec. 6, 1756.	"	Simon.
May 22, 1744.	Downs,	John, son of Thomas.
Jan. 20, 1747–8.	"	William, son of Thomas.
Jan. 3, 1752.	"	John, son of Thomas.
Dec. 29, 1746.	Dowthait,	Henrietta, dau. of Samuel.
July 27, 1733.	Doyle,	John, son of James.
Feb. 17, 1741–2.	"	Thomas.
Jan. 3, 1755.	"	John.
Oct. 19, 1744.	Drinkerhoff,	Daniel.
June 12, 1741.	Drothite,	William, son of Samuel.
Aug. 17, 1741.	"	Eliza, wife of Samuel.
Sept. 10, 1732.	Drury,	John, son of William.
Sept. 26, 1753.	Drydel,	Felix, son of William.
Aug. 20, 1758.	Dubery,	Hannah.
July 5, 1743.	Duché,	Mary, dau. of Jacob.
Sept. 25, 1735.	Duchee,	Sarah, dau. of Jacob.
Sept. 17, 1736.	"	Spence, son of Jacob.
Jan. 1, 1750–1.	"	James.
Oct. 7, 1731.	Duchey,	Hannah, wife of Andrew.
June 7, 1753.	Duffield,	Mary, dau. of Edward.
May 3, 1741.	Duffil,	Benjamin.
Feb. 7, 1746–7.	"	Joseph.
Sept. 29, 1745.	Duffils,	Abraham.
April 21, 1731.	Dugan,	John, son of Matthew.
Dec. 13, 1759.	Dugdale,	Margaret.
Nov. 10, 1756.	Dulap,	Mary.
Nov. 29, 1717.	Dumbard,	John. Serv't to Daniel Jones.
Oct. 15, 1710.	Dun,	William, son of John and
Oct. 28, 1747.	"	John, son of William. [Mary.

July 19, 1755.	Dunbar,	——— son of Thomas.
Sept. 4, 1750.	Duncan,	William. [gers' Ground.
Dec. 18, 1743.	Dunn,	Eloner, wife of James. Stran-
Aug. 9, 1751.	Dunnahan,	Jeremiah, son of John.
Dec. 5, 1746.	Dunnavan,	Peter.
July 22, 1747.	"	Jane, dau. of Peter, deceased.
July 22, 1747.	"	John, son of Peter, deceased.
Sept. 18, 1742.	Dunwick,	John, son of William.
Aug. 3, 1746.	"	Sarah, dau. of William.
April 10, 1748.	"	Thomas, son of William.
Oct. 8, 1751.	"	Martha, wife of William.
Oct. 10, 1751.	"	John, son of William.
July 6, 1756.	"	——— son of William.
July 24, 1741.	Dunwinter,	Catharine.
Dec. 11, 1731.	Durel,	Hannah, dau. of Moses.
Mar. 12, 1730–1.	Durell,	Sarah, dau. of Moses.
Jan. 5, 1757.	Durgan,	John.
Mar. 13, 1759.	"	John.
Nov. 26, 1717.	Duseberry,	James.
Feb. 18, 1747–8.	Dutarel,	John.
Sept. 27, 1730.	Dutton,	John. Strangers' Ground.
June 21, 1750.	"	Robert, son of Robert.
Dec. 12, 1757.	Dyer,	Joseph.
July 12, 1746.	Eades,	Mary, dau. of Robert.
Sept. 12, 1742.	Eagle,	Margaret, dau. of Richard.
July 6, 1747.	"	James, son of Richard.
July 4, 1712.	Earl,	Rachel, dau. of John and Noah.
Aug. 25, 1712.	"	John, son of John and Noah.
Sept. 24, 1752.	Earle,	Elizabeth.
June 27, 1751.	Eastburn,	Hannah, dau. of Charles.
Jan. 26, 1733–4.	Eastleeck,	Mary, wife of William. Strangers' Ground.
Sept. 3, 1758.	Eastwick,	Thomas, son of Thomas.
Mar. 25, 1759.	Eckles,	George.
Oct. 8, 1735.	Edgar,	Charles, son of Charles.
April 26, 1744.	"	Mary, dau. of Alexander.
Aug. 12, 1755.	"	——— dau. of Charles.
Aug. 1, 1727.	Edgcomb,	Samuel.
Nov. 6, 1759.	Edge,	Ann.
Aug. 13, 1741.	Edgecomb,	Joseph, son of Nathaniel.
July 10, 1755.	Edward,	James.
Feb. 21, 1731–2.	Edwards,	Lettice, dau. of Thomas.
Mar. 17, 1731–2.	"	Thomas, son of Mary.
Aug. 21, 1732.	"	Margaret.

Nov. 5, 1736.	Edwards,	Peter, son of Thomas.
Nov. 22, 1739.	"	Mary. Poor.
Jan. 27, 1744–5.	"	Thomas. [widow.
July 13, 1746.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Elizabeth,
April 25, 1747.	"	Margret, dau. of Thomas.
June 4, 1749.	"	Robert, son of Coney.
June 1, 1751.	"	Mary, dau. of Conie.
June 23, 1752.	"	Mary, dau. of William.
April 25, 1753.	"	Anne, dau. of Thomas.
Sept. 19, 1755.	"	Coney.
Sept. 21, 1726.	Elcock,	Grant, of Barbadoes, Gent.
Nov. 21, 1716.	Elexander,	William.
June 24, 1737.	Elford,	Sarah, dau. of John.
Jan. 19, 1722–3.	Elkinton,	Thomas.
Nov. 3, 1754.	Ellet,	Hercules.
July 23, 1746.	Ellickson,	Hannah. Widow.
Oct. 6, 1738.	Ellicott,	Roger.
June 3, 1727.	Elliot,	Jonathan, son of Robert and Johannah. Strangers' Gr'd.
Feb. 2, 1745–6.	"	Anne, wife of Capt. John.
May 20, 1756.	"	*Eleanor*, wife of Andrew.
Aug. 31, 1714.	Ellis,	Jane, wife of John.
Nov. 30, 1716.	"	Richard.
Aug. 3, 1721.	"	Edward.
Sept. 12, 1721.	"	Jane, wife of Robert.
Nov. 2, 1721.	"	Benjamin, of Kent Co.
Aug. 22, 1723.	"	Robert.
Nov. 8, 1727.	"	Priscilla, wife of Mr. Robert.
July 27, 1730.	"	Abraham, son of Robert.
June 13, 1732.	"	Katharine, dau. of Robert.
Aug. 10, 1735.	"	Hannah, dau. of Robert.
Feb. 11, 1736–7.	"	Elizabeth, wife of William, Ropemaker.
June 5, 1737.	"	Sarah.
Oct. 6, 1741.	"	Jane, dau. of Richard.
May 26, 1743.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Richard.
Dec. 31, 1743.	"	Jane, wife of Richard.
Feb. 4, 1745–6.	"	George. [Cooper.
Sept. 17, 1747.	"	Sarah, wife of Richard, ye
Mar. 17, 1747–8.	"	Jane, dau. of Richard.
July 10, 1749.	"	William, son of John.
Feb. 18, 1749–50.	"	Richard.
Sept. 16, 1756.	"	Thomas.
Aug. 30, 1756.	Elton,	——— dau. of Anthony.

(To be continued.)

JANUARY MEETING OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

A special meeting of the Society was held on Friday evening, Jan. 10, 1879, the President (Mr. Wallace) in the chair.

Mr. Horatio Gates Jones, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, introduced the Hon. Henry M. Hoyt, Governor-elect of Pennsylvania, who was received by the President, to whose remarks he replied as follows:—

Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen.—I owe you my sincere thanks for this opportunity to visit your Hall, and for the kindness and cordiality with which my presence here to-night has been greeted. In a general way I have been aware of the work you have been doing and propose to do, in order fittingly and gratefully to preserve the records and actions of those who founded the Province and organized the Republic, and who have conducted the affairs of so great and so free a Commonwealth. With much reluctance, I must confess that I had inadequately conceived the full scope of your purpose and work. I appreciate well the care, scholarship, and conscience involved in your scheme. A loving and patriotic regard for the memory of those who have done so much for us could alone hold you up to the continuous and thorough labors you have for half a century been bestowing upon the precious records you possess. It should be a source of pride and glory to the membership here that it has grown out of the private and cheerful contributions of time and money by yourselves.

Judging from my own immature knowledge of your plans, I do not err when I say you have conducted your business too modestly, and that you have a right to call your fellow-citizens of the whole State to a more generous co-operation. I cheerfully pledge what of personal or official influence I may have to further your designs, in any way you may suggest.

There are scattered through all the counties of our State gentlemen of leisure and culture, who are interesting themselves in the collection and preservation of the local records, letters, manuscripts, etc., which constitute the basis of accurate history. The Centennial Exhibition here, and the recently celebrated Centennials at Valley Forge and Wyoming have been rich in developing enthusiasm in this direction. We are reminded of the virtues practised by those who have gone before us. Speaking personally, and out of local experience, I may say, as I had occasion to remark to our Valley Forge friends some days since, that in the wonderful material interests organized in the Wyoming Valley, the tremendous energies we handled, mostly expended in money making and in seeking prosperity, we had about forgotten that we had any ancestry to whom we owed anything—forgotten that there had been any past—and, I am sorry to say, acted as though there was no hereafter. The present price of coal stocks has reminded us of the latter, and has taken much of the former out of us.

By tradition I fear my people in Northeastern Pennsylvania are regarded by most of you here as "intruders"—so the statutes of the State used to call the Connecticut settlers in "the seventeen townships." A record in your vaults shown me to-night calls our Yankee friend, John Franklin, "the chief of the banditti." Well, that is long agone. While the Connecticut settler was assailed in turn by the Pennamite, the Indian, and the Tory, the equity of his title as the settler and improver of the wilderness was finally recognized, and we owe it to the wisdom and the justice of

Quaker and Pennamite lawyers of Philadelphia that statutes were framed which meted fair play out to them.

But I am violating the law of the evening, that there is to be no speech-making. I am grateful for this occasion, and again thank you for your consideration of me.

The regular order of proceedings was then resumed. William H. Ruddiman, Esquire, read a sketch written by Mr. Charles Riché Hildeburn of the Reverend Thomas Coombe, D. D., an assistant minister of Christ Church and St. Peter's, Philadelphia, from November 30, 1772, to July 7, 1778.

The Hon. Peter McCall read three graphic and interesting letters from Dr. Benjamin Rush to Elias Boudinot, dated respectively Philadelphia, September 25, 1793, October 2, 1793, and October 28, 1793, describing the yellow fever then prevailing in that city.

At the request of the President, the Secretary read an interesting letter from the Reverend Benjamin Dorr, D.D., late Rector of Christ Church, dated April 13, 1860, giving an account of the distinguished persons who were pew holders of that Church, and who were interred in the burial ground connected with it.

The President read three entertaining letters, one of them from Lewis Morris, dated 3d Fourth month (June), 1681, and the others from Deputy-Governor Markham, dated 7 December, 1681, giving glowing, and, to us, amusing descriptions of the country, climate, and inhabitants of Pennsylvania at that period. These were printed in London in 1682 in a pamphlet, entitled "Plantation Work, the Work of this Generation."

The Hon. Wayne MacVeagh then in a few remarks expressed the gratification felt by the members of the Society in having the Governor-elect to visit the Hall, and nominated him for membership in the Society. The nomination was seconded by Horatio N. Burroughs, Esquire. By unanimous consent the rules were suspended, and the Governor-elect, General Henry M. Hoyt, was unanimously elected a member of the Society by a *vivâ voce* vote.

The meeting thereupon adjourned.

A stated meeting of the Society held at the Hall on the evening of Jan. 13, 1879, the President in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read, and, on motion, approved.

The President introduced Professor Oswald Seidensticker, who read an interesting memoir of Israel Daniel Rupp, deceased, the author of various county histories of Pennsylvania.

Samuel W. Pennypacker read a letter from Dr. Benjamin Rush to James Searle, January 21, 1778, in relation to Burgoyne's surrender.

The Secretary read an interesting letter from the Reverend C. P. Wing, of Carlisle, giving a sketch of the life of Mrs. John Hays, well known in connection with the history of the battle of Monmouth, as "Moll Pitcher."

The death of the Hon. Morton McMichael was announced to the Society by the President with some suitable remarks.

On motion, the meeting adjourned.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

MOLL PITCHER.—[It is so often the unpleasant duty of Historical Societies to destroy traditions which have found favor in the public mind, that we gladly print the following letter from the Rev. C. P. Wing, of Carlisle, which confirms so much that has been told of "Molly Pitcher," the heroine of Monmouth.—ED.]

CARLISLE, June 15, 1878.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 13th inst. reached me yesterday P. M., and I immediately set about some inquiries for the purpose of verifying the received traditions regarding the subject of your inquiry. I visited the President of the Monument Committee, and the granddaughter of Mrs. Hays, and took notice of some contemporary files of the newspapers. The amount of what I obtained, with what I had before, is the following:—

The original name before marriage was Mary Ludwig (so recorded in the family Bible). She herself came probably from Germany. The first we discover of her was at Trenton, N. J., where she had quarters with Gen. Irvine. Her husband was John Hays, a barber, a sergeant in a company of artillery. He was an Irishman, or an Englishman. He was in the battle of Monmouth, and is said to have had, at least for a while, the direction of a cannon. When he was struck down she was coming on the ground with a pitcher of water for him and others. It was a very hot day, and the soldiers suffered much from heat and thirst. Her husband had been borne from the ground, and she instantly took his place by the gun, and some say served several rounds, but others say only loaded and fired once, and insisted on continuing at the post, and was induced very reluctantly to retire. It is also said that she was seen at this service by Gen. Washington, but we only know that he was informed of her conduct, and gave her a commission as sergeant by brevet. She was very active in various ways, for she was excitable, being then about 30 years of age, and confident and prompt when she saw anything to be done. She had a friend also in the battle, who was rendered insensible, and was thrown with many others into a pit for dead, and to be buried—but she went the morning after the battle and found him alive, bore him in her arms to the hospital, and took care of him until his recovery. At some time late in life she received a box of presents from this friend, with an invitation to come to him and make her home with him, where he promised to keep her in luxury. Her friend wrote that he had only just heard through the pension office of her residence. After the battle she served with her husband in the army. In all, she was in the army seven years and nine months.

Soon after the disbanding of the army, she came to reside in Carlisle, Pa., where her husband died and was buried. She remained a widow for a while, and was employed as a nurse in many families. She was very fond of children, and loved to stop them and tell them stories. But when having the charge of them, she was considered *by those of whom she had charge*, to be very strict and severe. She was to all persons very communicative and talkative, rather rough in manners, sometimes, when excited, even profane, but well understood to be at heart tender and kind. She never turned away any who were in trouble, and enjoined it on her children never to do so. Much against the remonstrances of her friends and kindred she married

Sergeant John McAuley, a worthless fellow, who made her subsequent life miserable by his drunkenness and personal abuse. He did nothing but live on her earnings, how many years I never heard. She, however, lived for some time after his death, and died January, 1832, at the age of eighty-nine. She was buried with military honors, several companies attended her remains to the grave, where she was buried under a deep snow, with her first husband. A military salute was fired at the interment. She seldom if ever attended any place of worship, though she always treated religion and religious people with great respect. She never received any pension except forty dollars a year, as the widow of Mr. Hays. It is said by her granddaughter, that on the last week of her life, a pension was granted to her in her own right.

She had a son John, who was born at Trenton, who also had children who reside now in Carlisle. One of the daughters of this John still lives, and unveiled the monument which the citizens of Carlisle erected over "Molly Pitcher's" grave, on the fourth of July in the centennial year (1876). The name of Pitcher was given her with reference to her services by her companions in the army in 1778. This monument is a very appropriate one in the old cemetery of Carlisle, where lie so many of the heroes of the American Revolution.

It may be that some *purist* of the Niebuhr school may yet demolish some of the romance of this story. By searching the records of the Pension Office at Washington, perhaps something might be learned. But the substantial facts are well established, and the whole story now constitutes a part of what is dear and *true to the national heart.*

Yours very truly,
C. P. Wing.

Bathsheba Bowers.—The authoress of "An Alarm Sounded To prepare the Inhabitants of the World To meet the Lord in the way of his judgement. By Bath. Bowers [1709]. Sm. 4to. pp. 23."

This very rare book (probably unique) is thus mentioned by Sabin, in his admirable Dictionary of Books Relating to America. He says, "Dated at the end Philadelphia but probably printed by Bradford, at New York." The list of Bradford's books in the Historical Magazine, vol. iii. p. 176 (N. Y., 1859), says "dated at the end, Philadelphia, *July* 17, 1709." The only copy I have known of was that sold at Menzie's sale in New York, in 1875, which brought $16.00. As the writer was a singular character in the early days of Philadelphia, and is said to have written other books, a few facts in her history are worthy of being preserved, especially as none of them have ever appeared in print. All that is known of her life (except what may be in her printed history not known to exist) is described very graphically by her niece, Mrs. Ann Bolton, of Philadelphia, the daughter of her sister Elizabeth, who married Wenlock Curtis of this city. Prof. James Curtis Booth, a descendant who possesses the original MS. diary, has very kindly allowed me to take these extracts. This diary is in the form of letters addressed to her physician, Dr. Anderson, of Maryland, the first of which was written in 1739. It begins as follows:—

"For some reason perhaps Dr. not unknown to you I step out of the common Road and first Mention my family on my Mother's side.

My Grand ffather Benanuel Bowers was Born in England of honnest Parents, but his ffather being a Man of a Stern temper, and a rigid Oliverian Obliged my Grandfather (who out of a Pious zeal turned to the religion of the Quakers) to flee for succor into New England.

My Grandmother's name was Elizabeth Dunster. She was Born in Lancashire in Old England, but her Parents dying when she was Young her Unkle Dunster, who was himself at that time President of the College in

New England, sent for her thither and discharged his Duty to her not only in that of a kind Unkle but a good Christian and tender ffather. By all reports he was a man of Great Wisdom, exemplary Piety, and peculiar sweetness of temper.

My Grandfather not long after his coming to New England purchased a farm near Boston, and then married my Grandmother, tho' they had but a small beginning yet God So blest them that they increased in substance, were both Devout Quakers and ffamous for their Christian Charity and Liberality to people of all perswasions on religion who to Escape the Stormy Wind and tempest that raged horribly in England fflockt thither."

* * * * * * * *

The writer also speaking of her grandparents mentions "the outrage and violence of ffiery zealots of the Presbyterian Party who then had the ruling power in their own hands, however they slept with their Lives tho' not without Cruel whippings and imprisonment and the loss of part of their worldly substance."

Benanuel Bowers and his wife had twelve children, some of whom died in infancy, but most of them grew to be men and women. "Hearing a great character of the City of Philadelphia, with my grandmother's consent he sent four of his eldest daughters hither whilst the youngest remained with themselves. The eldest was married to Timothy Hanson and settled upon a plantation near Frankford." The youngest married George Lownes, in Springfield, Chester County. "The other remained single all the days of her Life, of whom I shall speak more hereafter." This was Bathsheba Bowers, the writer of the above-mentioned work, of whom Mrs. Bolton says "she was crossed in love when she was about eighteen." * * * "She seemed to have little regard for riches, but her thirst for knowledge being boundless after she had finished her house and Garden, and they were as beautiful as her hands cou'd make them, or heart could wish, she retired herself in them free from Society as if she had lived in a Cave under Ground or on the top of a high mountain, but as nothing ever satisfied her so about half a mile distant under Society Hill She built a Small house close by the best Spring of Water perhaps as was in our City. This house she furnished with books a Table a Cup in w^{ch} she or any that visited her (but they were few, and seldom drank of that Spring). What name she gave her new house I know not but some People gave it the name of Bathsheba's Bower (for you must know her Name was Bathsheba Bowers) but some a little ill Natured called it Bathsheba's folly. As for the place it has ever since bore the name of Bathsheba's Spring or Well—for like Absalom I suppose she was willing to have something to bear up her Name, and being too Strict a virtuoso cou'd not expect fame and favour here by any methods than such of her own raising and spreading. Those motives I suppose led her about the same time to write the History of her Life (in w^{ch} she freely declared her failings) with her own hand which was no sooner finished than Printed and distributed about the world Gratis. Though I little regarded her Book at that time yet I have since often wished for one, but if a thousand Pounds would purchase one of them it could scarce be found, for I believe one of them has not been seen in America these twenty years past—however I know not but my short account may serve for as much as is necessary concerning her, as well as hers that was longer. She was a Quaker by profession but so Wild in her Notions it was hard to find out of what religion she really was of. She read her Bible much but I think sometimes to no better purpose than to afford matter for dispute in w^{ch} she was always positive. She wrote many Letters to Thomas Story who as tis said was a Learned Man and was then our head Preacher. Some of her Letters he answered, but I suppose growing weary of arguing he soon left off." * * *

"Tho' my Aunt as I told you before was very religious yet very whimsical and thus were her Books suited to her humour—Tryon was one of her favorites in w^ch^ was represented the hideousness of our Cannibal Natures in eating flesh fish or anything that had life in it." "She tasted nothing [of this kind] for twenty years before she died." * * * * * *

"But I must now proceed with the account of her Books. She had several wrote by a female hand filled with dreams and visions and a thousand Romantic Notions of her seeing Various sorts of Beasts and Bulls in the Heavens." * * * * * * * * * * * *

"She had a belief she could never die. She removed to South Carolina where the Indians Early one morning surprised the place—killed and took Prisoners several in the house adjoining to her. Yet she moved not out of her Bed, but when two Men offered their assistance to carry her away, she said Providence would protect her, and indeed so it proved at that time, for those two men no doubt by the Direction of providence took her in her Bed for she could not rise, conveyed her into their Boat and carried her away in Safety tho' the Indians pursued and shot after them."

Mrs. Bolton describes Bathsheba Bowers to have been of "middle stature," "beautiful when young" but singularly stern and morose. She lived with her until thirteen years of age, and suffered much from her cruel treatment. It is said she sold her house in Philadelphia and removed twelve miles distant into the country, and after some years removed into South Carolina, where she died in 1718, in her 46th year.

Watson in his Annals of Philadelphia has given an illustration of the house of "Bathsheba's Bower," which was of singular construction, and was standing at the junction of Little Dock and Second Streets, with the traditions derived from aged persons concerning it. Whitefield preached from the balcony.

Paige in his History of Cambridge confirms in part the family sketch above given. Benanuel Bowers was a resolute and much persecuted Quaker of that place, who owned twenty acres in Charlestown. He suffered fines repeatedly and imprisonment for various offences, such as absenting himself from meeting, and giving a cup of milk to a poor Quakeress who had been whipped and imprisoned two days and nights without food or water. His wife Elizabeth, and his daughters Barbara and Elizabeth, shared his faith and his sufferings. Like his daughter Bathsheba, he indulged himself with his pen, and some doggerel autograph lines of his are yet preserved in the files of Middlesex County Court, addressed to Thomas Danforth the magistrate, in 1677. Henry Dunster, first President of Harvard College, was a remarkable man, as his Life by the Rev. Jeremiah Chapin shows. Both Chapin and Paige have noticed the confusion in the pedigree of the Dunsters which this extract partially clears up. Dunster in his will in 1658 leaves to his "cousin Bowers and her children, five shillings apeece." Taking the word "*cousin*" in a modern sense has occasioned this trouble. It was very common in the 17th century to apply the term "cousin" to both niece and nephew as well as other relations further removed in kinship.

Camden, New Jersey. WILLIAM JOHN POTTS.

CORRECTIONS IN "THE DESCENDANTS OF JÖRAN KYN."—In the preceding volume of the MAGAZINE, page 327, line 10, on the word "*Printzhof*" add this foot-note: "The dilapidated remains of what was said to be the chimney of this 'mansion,'" says Dr. George Smith in his excellent "History of Delaware County, Pennsylvania," "were standing within the recollection of the author, and up to this time one of the small foreign-made bricks, of a pale yellow colour, of which it was partly constructed, may be occasionally picked up in the vicinity. Its site was a short distance above the present

Tinicum hotel, and on the opposite side of the road." Benjamin Ferris, in his "History of the Original Settlements on the Delaware," says: "This Hall stood more than 160 years, and was at last burnt down by accident, since the commencement of the present century." Page 328, line 7 from the foot, add as follows: Acrelius is mistaken in giving as the date of Printz's return home "the year 1652;" in company with his wife and children, Henrik Huyghen, and some of the colonists, the Governor left the Delaware in the beginning of November, 1653, and, crossing the ocean in a Dutch vessel, reached Rochelle by the 1st of December, and Holland by the new year, and arrived in Sweden in April, 1654. (See the admirable "*Akademisk Afhandling*," entitled "*Kolonien Nya Sveriges Historia*," by Carl K. S. Sprinchorn, Stockholm, 1878.) Page 331, line 12, for the dash substitute the words: meeting of. Page 448, at the close of the first foot-note, for "1746" read 1744, and add as follows: The tombstone of Peter Baynton, the younger—still to be seen in St. Mary's Churchyard, Burlington, N. J.—displays a coat of arms (an engraving of which appears in "The Heraldic Journal," vol. iii. p. 119) resembling that of the Bayntuns, of Wiltshire, England, described in Burke's "Extinct and Dormant Baroneteies," under Bayntun-Rolt, as "*sable*, a bend lozengy *argent*." Pages 447, 449, and 450, for "Foreman" read Forman. So Mr. George Forman himself wrote his name in a fair English hand. Page 449, line 7 from the foot, after "County" add: of which he was elected Sheriff for 1689. Page 450, line 13, for "m. Jasper Yeates," read m., 1st, Alexander Creker; 2dly, Jasper Yeates. Page 454, line 10, between the words "Proprietor" and "Matthias Keen" insert as follows: Mr. Keen was a Member of this Assembly of the Province, being one of eight Representatives of Philadelphia County from October, 1713, until his death the following year. Page 456, last line, add as follows: This person died February 24, 1784, aged 75 years, and his widow Mary Keen, July 12, 1791, at the same age. They are buried in St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Churchyard, Philadelphia. Beside them lie Matthias Valentine Keen, doubtless their son, who died October 20, 1806, aged 59 years, and his widow Elizabeth (Hood) Keen, whom he married (Register of Swedish Lutheran Church on Raccoon Creek, New Jersey) February 1, 1777, who died May 10, 1830, aged 80 years. The latter had several children, who died young, and a daughter, Rebecca, who survived her father.

G. B. K.

Rev. William Smith, D.D.—The first volume of the Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D.D., by his great-grandson, has been published by *S. A. George & Co.*, 15 *North 7th St., Philadelphia.*

It would be impossible to condense the thoughts which are suggested in reading the 595 royal octavo pages of this volume into the limits of an ordinary Book Notice, and as it is not our custom to review publications, we will not make the attempt. We cannot, however, forbear calling the attention of our readers to a book in which they will find so much Pennsylvania History, and asking for it a support that will insure its completion.

Dr. Smith exercised a leading influence in almost every question which agitated the minds of Pennsylvanians during the quarter of a century preceding the Revolution. In our ecclesiastical, political, and literary history, it will be seen that his ready pen and cultivated mind must have been constantly employed. The history of the Episcopal Church in Pennsylvania, and the story of his life, are so closely connected, that the one would be incomplete without the other. In political controversy he was constantly pitted against Franklin, whose powers he taxed to the utmost. But it is for his literary efforts and for his untiring zeal to promote the means of educa-

tion in Pennsylvania, that his name will be most frequently remembered with reverence and gratitude.

The Academy of Philadelphia, which has since grown into the University of Pennsylvania, in which all Philadelphians can take pride, had not been established five years when it was placed under his care, and we cannot overestimate the labor that from the first he devoted to his charge. The large sum of money he collected in England, in 1764, for the benefit of the College, was the means which placed it on sure foundation.

The views expressed in one chapter of the book are so different from those usually entertained of a most distinguished character, that we cannot indorse them unless there is better ground for the charge than that which is given. We allude to an attack on the character of Dr. Benjamin Franklin, which will be found on pages 335–347.

AQUILA ROSE.—The volume of poems by Aquila Rose is of such rarity as to have led to the doubt of its ever having been printed. The following letter written to Jacob Taylor, formerly Surveyor-General, of Chester County, then residing with his nephew, John Taylor, in Thornbury, will, however, dispel all doubt on the subject. G. C.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 11, 1741.

Mr. TAYLOR: Your intimate acquaintance with my deceased father, Aquila Rose, embolden me to intrude a few lines on you, and to make a small present of an inconsiderable part of his Poems, which I have printed by leave of my kind master, Mr. Benjamin Franklin. I lament much, that those who borrowed his manuscript Works of my mother, deceased, should be so ungenerous, and forget to return them to his son. This collection is so small, that I was almost asham'd to publish it; but, as it is, I hope it may meet with a favourable reception. I have done a dutiful son's Endeavour to survive his Father's name, whose Wit was so much admir'd by those of sense and Judgment.

Sir I'm become Intersessor to you for my younger Apprentices; They are much necessiated for want of Yearly verses; Mr. Joseph Brientnall, their former Bard, is now so fatigued with business, that he can't perform his usual Kindnesses that way. They know that you're in years and the muse may not be so free as formerly; but promise, if you'll be so favourable to comply this once, they'll trouble you no more hereafter.

I have made bold to set the Theme of the following Heads of Articles of News. No doubt you have read the Articles they refer to; or if not, any subject you may think proper. You will see the method heretofore used by the inclosed.

The Heads are as follows, to wit.: 1. The Death of the Czarina. 2. The Joy Russia expressed in their Regent the Duke of Courland; and its sudden Changes, in a few days on his Downfall. 3. The critical situation of affairs in Europe occasion'd by the death of the Emperor. 4. The King of Prussia's sudden march to take possession of Silesia after his Death. 5. The Re-establishment of the fortifications at Dunkirk. The French's Squadron of Observation, in the American seas, returning home without success, for want of Provisions, in a distress'd condition. 6. Their Distress in Politicks, in the Present Conjuncture. 7. Vernon's Actions and Bravery in Demolishing the Forts, &c. at Carthagena. 8. The Raising the siege of that Place, the season being against us, &c.

If there is anything else you may think of, and I have omitted, please to insert it.

Be so good to let them know by a few lines to me whether you'll comply with their Request. I am your young
Friend and Humble servant.
Direct to me at JOSEPH ROSE.
Mr. BENJ. FRANKLIN'S J. R.

UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF DR. FRANKLIN.—The following letter is one of the most caustic specimens of Franklin's correspondence that has been preserved. The original draft is in the Franklin Papers lately presented to The Historical Society of Pennsylvania by Miss Mary D. Fox. It has not, we believe, ever appeared in print:—

"Dr. Franklin presents his Compliments to Mr. Meyer, and prays him not to detain any longer the Picture from which he was to make a Miniature, but return it by the Bearer. Hopes Mr. Meyer will not think him impatient, as he has waited full Five Years, and seen many of his Acquaintances, tho' applying later, served before him. Wishes Mr. Meyer not to give himself the Trouble of making any more Apologies, or to feel the least Pain on Act. of his disappointing Dr. Franklin, who assures him, he never was disappointed by him but once, not having for several Years past since he has known the Character of his Veracity, had the smallest dependence upon it."

THE OLD FAMILIES OF BURLINGTON and BORDENTOWN AND THE SURROUNDING COUNTRY.—Major E. M. Woodward, of Ellesdale, N. J., will issue in a short time, two volumes under the above titles. They will contain the interesting sketches which he has published from time to time in the *Bordentown Register*.

The first named work (275 pages) will contain the histories of upwards of sixty-three families. The facts have been collected from the Chesterfield (Crosswick's) Monthly Meeting records, the Township records, deeds, wills, probates, and letters of administration on file or recorded in the Secretary of State's office at Trenton, etc. etc. The papers have been carefully revised, and in many cases added to since their publication in the *Register*.

The second book (470 pages) will contain a number of Biographical Sketches, and a History of Bonaparte's Park. The price will be $3.00 per volume, or the two bound in one for $5.00. Orders should be addressed to James D. Flynn, Bordentown, N. J.

Queries.

FRANCES SLOCUM.—In Pa. Archives (2d series, vol. 4, p. 560), under date of March 28, 1791, Col. Proctor, commissioner to the North Western Indians, enters in his journal. "Took breakfast at Wm. Dunns. From thence we proceeded to the Painted Post or Cohocton in the Indian language; Here I was joined company by a Mr. George Slocum, who followed us from Wyoming, to place himself under our protection and assistance until we reach the Cornplanters settlement on the head waters of the Allegheny to the redeeming of his sister from an unpleasing captivity of twelve years, to which end he begged our immediate interposition." This can refer to no other than the Indian captive Frances Slocum, and to one of her brothers, of whom she had seven—Giles, William, Ebenezer, Benjamin, Isaac, Joseph, and Jonathan—and beyond doubt the brother here referred to was her oldest brother, Giles, who was in the battle or Wyoming Massacre, and for which the Indians

visited upon the family the most inhuman cruelties. In copying the journal of Col. Proctor, George has been substituted for Giles, or the name was not understood, or correctly entered by the Col. in his journal; Frances Slocum had no brother by the name of George.

On April 22d, same year and journal, p. 579, Col. Proctor makes the following remarkable entries: "Paid Indian Peter for services from Newtown Point to O'Beelstown, 22s. 6d. to mess expenses from the 16th to the 23d, including horse feed £6. 18s. 6d. to cash paid *Francis Slocum*, a white prisoner, 7s. 6d. Do. a white prisoner at Cattaragus 11s. 3d." Now who was this Francis Slocum? The name Francis in the Archives is spelt with an i, which would be the proper spelling for the name of a man. But as Francis is an unusual name for a man, and Slocum not a common one, it would seem rather improbable that at that time there should be a white male prisoner remaining among the Indians bearing that name, and a brother searching for a lost sister, a white prisoner among the Indians, bearing the same name, differing only in the spelling of Francis.

Col. Proctor no where else in his journal (per Archives) refers again to the Mr. Slocum, who joined him at the Painted Post; nor does he say anything of the white prisoner, Francis Slocum, to whom he paid his bill beyond the entry of the payment. But he gives quite a history of the white prisoner to whom he paid a bill at Cattaragus. He makes the entry that he may inform his friends in Philadelphia. If the white prisoner, Slocum, was Frances, and not Francis, the child taken by the Indians from Wilkesbarre in 1778, when five years old, how can the silence of Col. Proctor be accounted for? Why did he not learn her history? Why did he not take active measures to inform her friends of his discovery? Where was the brother who joined him at the Painted Post? If it was not Frances, but Francis; who was he? Has the journal of Col. Proctor been fully and correctly copied by the Editor of the Archives?

JAMES SLOCUM.

Brownsville, Pa., Jan. 17, 1879.

WASHINGTON AND LAFAYETTE TO J. F. MERCER.—The following extracts lately appeared in the *New York Tribune*. Can any of the readers of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE inform us where we will find the letters in full, or furnish copies of them?

"President Washington once wrote a letter to J. F. Mercer, which has just been printed for the first time. He says in it: 'I never mean (unless some particular circumstance should compel me to it) to possess another slave by purchase, it being among my first wishes to see some plan adopted by the Legislature whereby slavery in this country may be abolished by slow, sure, and imperceptible degrees.'"

"Lafayette, writing in 1791 to J. F. Mercer, of Virginia, in a letter just published, gives a curious picture of the condition of post and papers then. 'Should you,' he says, 'have something to communicate to me, rather than to the Postmaster-General, give it with a recommendation to my children, Rue Daujon, No. 12. The public papers say nothing of Parliamentary debates, nor of interior politics. The only way to be kept *au courant* is through the correspondence of friends.'" M.

BROWNE FAMILY IN AMERICA.—A correspondent in Tasmania writes me, asking for information concerning the family of Browne in America. He says: "Various families of Browne who bear my coat of arms (sable, 3 lions passant in bend between two double cottises argent) may be presumed to have been at one time allied to each other. Should you know of any pedigrees of Browne in the United States and find them coupled with these arms,

I shall be glad if you will forward me any information you can obtain concerning them. Some years ago I met a Mr. Vincent Browne, an appraiser in the U. S. Customs, who said that his family had been nearly two hundred years engaged in the cod-fisheries, and that the family was the same as that of Mrs. Hemans (neé Browne) the poetess; I have since learnt that Mrs. Hemans's family, though latterly of the Co. Flint in Wales, and of Liverpool in England, is actually a Co. Cork family, and more than likely an immediate junior of my own, I being the actual head of the Brownes of Balimoker, Co. Cork. So far I find Brownes of the same kindred in Kent, Surrey, 'Betchworth,' Sussex, 'Cowdray,' Devon, Norfolk, Berkshire, Oxford, York (and St. Vincent, West Indies), Chester, Shropshire, and Gloucester; while in Ireland they are in Cork, Mayo, Down, and Wicklow."

Can any of your readers aid me in answering this query?

ROBERT P. ROBINS.

SLOOP OF WAR WARREN.—While lying off Panama, S. A., in 1874, I was shown an old hulk, beached on Flamingo, or Deadman's Island, and now used by the Pacific Mail S. S. Co. as a store-ship. The mate of my ship told me she was all that remained of the American Sloop of War Warren; upon hearing this I, with much difficulty (at low water), extracted a copper bolt from the forw'd part of the keelson: this I prized very highly, until recently, when looking over "Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution," who, quoting from Cooper (1st, 247), writes, "'Warren,' 32 guns, burned in the Penobscott, in 1779, to prevent her falling into the enemy's hands."

If this is true I must have been misinformed. Can you tell me which statement is correct?

And oblige, respectfully,

A SUBSCRIBER.

PEARSON.—Information is wanted respecting the names of the children of Thomas and Grace Pearson, who emigrated from Lancashire, England, with their parents, who brought a certificate from the Monthly Meeting at Marsden—dated the 16th of 12th month, 1698; said certificate recorded at Middletown Meeting, Bucks Co., Pennsylvania. J.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.—Can any reader of the MAGAZINE give any information of the original engrossed copy of the Declaration of Independence prior to the removal of the Government to Washington—what was done with it after all the signatures were attached, and in whose charge, and where was it placed before and after the members had all signed it?

M. S.

THE BENEZET FAMILY.—All persons possessing information in regard to the descendants of John Stephen Benezet, who came to Philadelphia about 1731, are requested to communicate with the undersigned, who is engaged in preparing an historical and genealogical sketch of the family.

REV. W. J. HOLLAND, *Pittsburgh, Pa.*

"APPLELEY MANOR."—Recently I came across an advertisement of the sale of the estate of Mr. Duncan, of Carlisle, in which are included, "three most excellent farms located in Appleley Manor." Further on the statement is made that the farms are eligibly situated on the Allegheny River three miles from Kittanning, Armstrong County. The query is, by whose order was this Manor surveyed, and what was its extent? Could it possibly have been a portion of the Manor of Kittanning? W. H. E.

Replies.

An Author Wanted (vol. ii. p. 229).—In the Pennsylvania Magazine there is a query as to the authorship of a very rare pamphlet, "Some Remedies proposed for the Restoring the sunk credit of the Province of Pennsylvania, with some Remarks on its Trade. Humbly offered to the consideration of the worthy Representatives in the General Assembly of this Province, by a lover of this country. Printed in the year 1721" (pp. 20). A copy, unique perhaps, is in the Philadelphia Library, bound up with other curious relics of the early literature of colonial days. The general "get up" of the pamphlet, as well as the ideas it contains, and their form and expression, lead one almost irresistibly to the conclusion that the work was written by the author of another pamphlet (which has lately been reprinted), entitled "Ways and Means for the Inhabitants of Delaware to become rich," published in Philadelphia in 1725, of the original of which the only known copy is in the Loganian Library. That author was Francis Rawle, of Philadelphia.

The pamphlet first mentioned was supposed to have been printed by Andrew Bradford, and for so doing he was summoned before the Provincial Council on January 19th, 1721 (3 Colonial Records, 143).[1] The matter was heard on February 1st, 1721 (*id.* p. 145),[2] but no case having been made out against him, he was discharged with a reprimand. The pamphlet was referred to by Hon. Peter McCall in his address before the Law Academy of Philadelphia, delivered September 5, 1838, and by John Wm. Wallace, Esq., in his pamphlet, "Pennsylvania as a Borrower," Philadelphia, 1861.

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[1] Minutes of a meeting of the Provincial Council held January 19th, 1721: "Upon a motion made, that Andrew Bradford, Printer, be Examined before this Board concerning the publishing of a late Pamphlet, entituled 'Some Remedies proposed for the restoring the Sunk Credit of the Province of Pennsylvania,' as also of the Weekly Mercury of the 2d of January instant, the last paragraph whereof seems to have been intended as a Reflection upon the Credit of this province; it is ordered That He, the said Printer, have Notice to attend this Board at the next meeting of Council."

The objectionable paragraph in the American Weekly Mercury is as follows: "Our General Assembly are now sitting, and we have great Expectations from them at this Juncture, that they will find some effectual Remedy to revive the dying Credit of this Province, and restore us to our former happy Circumstances."

[2] Minutes of same, February 1st, 1721: "The Board being informed that Andrew Bradford, the Printer, attended according to order, He was called in and examined concerning a late Pamphlet, entituled 'Some Remedies proposed for restoring the Sunk Credit of the Province of Pennsylvania;' Whereupon, He declared that He knew nothing of the printing or publishing the said Pamphlet; And being reprimanded by the Governour for publishing a certain paragraph in his News-Paper, called the American Weekly Mercury of the 2d of January last, He said it was inserted by his Journey-Man, who composed the said Paper, without his Knowledge, and that He was very sorry for it, and for which he humbly submitted himself and ask'd Pardon of the Govr. and the Board; Whereupon the Governour told him, That He must not for the future presume to publish any thing relating to or concerning the Affairs of this Government, or the Government of any other of his Majesty's Colonies, without the permission of the Governour or Secretary of this province, for the time being, And then He was dismissed."

The authorship of Francis Rawle is the more likely, inasmuch as he was a strong advocate of the very views expressed in the work, and was a man far above the average of his contemporaries in education and breadth of views. He was moreover a strenuous opponent of the policy of the Proprietary party. In this latter respect Franklin followed his example, as well as in some of his views, as is shown in the pamphlet, written by the former, entitled "A Modest Enquiry into the Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency" (Philadelphia, 1729), of which a copy is bound up in the same volume with "Some Remedies Proposed."

Francis Rawle was a prominent member of the "popular" or anti-proprietary party in the Colonial Assembly, to which he was elected in the years 1704, 1706, 1707, 1708, and again in 1719, 1721, 1722, 1723, 1724, 1725, and 1726. He served until his death, indeed, for he died on March 5th, 1726–7. His name appears on most of the important committees of the House, and as one of those active in all matters under discussion during his long tenure of office.

There had been great distress in Philadelphia and throughout the Province before and at the time of the publication in 1721, of the pamphlet in question, owing to the depression in trade and scarcity of money. On January 4th, 1722–3, petitions from Chester, Bucks and Philadelphia counties were presented to the Assembly, complaining of the great decay of trade and credit, and requesting an issue of paper currency (2 Votes of Assembly, 337). On the 8th of same month (*id.* p. 338) it was resolved that it was necessary that a quantity of paper money founded on a good scheme be struck. On the 11th (*id.* p. 341) several amounts were discussed, and £12,000 at last agreed upon. On the 22d (*id.* p. 344) the sum was increased to £15,000, and on the 23d (*id.* p. 344), "it was ordered that the drawing up of the bill for issuing bills of credit be committed to *Francis Rawle*, Isaac Taylor, and Charles Read, being appointed a former committee; and that William Biles and John Kearsley be added to them." The bill itself, which was prepared by this committee and which is printed in Bradford's Laws (1728), page 217, contains many of the suggestions made in the pamphlet, "Some Remedies Proposed," &c., in regard to the manner of issuing the paper money (which was first suggested therein), and of securing, protecting, and redeeming it. On February 8th, 1722–3 (2 Votes, p. 355), "The House entered on the consideration of proper persons to be appointed signers of the Bills of Credit to be emitted; and, after some time, Resolved, that Charles Read, *Francis Rawle*, Benjamin Vining, and Anthony Morris be appointed signers accordingly." One of the bills thus signed by Francis Rawle and two others, is still in existence, in the valuable collection of Colonial and Continental paper money belonging to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. This was the first issue of paper money in Pennsylvania, and was known as that issued under the act approved March 2, 1722–3.

Francis Rawle belonged to the family of that name which was seated at Hennett, in the Parish of St. Juliot, in Cornwall, England, as early as the reign of Edward the Fourth (Lysons's Magna Britannia, p. cxiii.), in which county it possessed several manors. Prior to his emigration he styled himself as of Plymouth, in the County of Devon, and as this was in a deed executed in England, he must have been of man's estate, and master of a good estate too, before he left his native land. He was a Quaker, and emigrated with his aged father (who died here in 1697), on account of the persecution of that sect—both father and son having been imprisoned in 1683, in the High Gaol of Devonshire, at Exon. (Besse's Sufferings of the Quakers, vol. i. p. 163.) They arrived in Philadelphia on June 23d, 1686 (MS. Book of Arrivals in Hist. Soc. Pa.), and the son brought with him a Patent from William Penn, describing the former as one of the Signers of the Con-

cessions to the First Purchasers. He afterwards located his twenty-five hundred acres in Plymouth Township, then Philadelphia, now Montgomery County, and with a few others founded the settlement known as "The Plymouth Friends." (3 Friends Misc., 379, and Buck's Hist. Montgomery County, p. 82.) In 1689 he married an heiress, the daughter of Robert Turner, one of Penn's Commissioners of State and his intimate friend and confidential adviser. On May 6, 1724, Francis Rawle was appointed by Governor Sir William Keith a member of his Provincial Council, an office held only by the most prominent men in the Province, to fill the vacancy in the Quaker representation caused by the death of Thomas Masters (3 Colonial Records, 232). There is no record, however, of his taking or declining his seat, but it is likely that his consistent opposition to the principles of the Proprietary party was the cause of his not accepting the office.

These two works, "Some Remedies Proposed" and "Ways and Means," were the first writings on the general subject of political economy, and its application to local requirements, published in Pennsylvania, or indeed in any of the British Colonies in America. The earlier pamphlet deserves in itself the well-merited compliment paid to the later one—of being reprinted—and we hope some day to see this done, with a sketch of the author and his times. J. G. R.

Colonel John Butler (vol. ii. p. 349 and p. 473).—B. C. S. is referred to R. R. Hinman's Catalogue of the First Puritan Settlers, p. 458. "Walter Butler was in the east division of lands in Greenwich, Conn., in 1672. Miss Caulkins says Walter Butler, of N. London, was probably a son of Thomas, of N. London, and m. Mary, only child of Thomas Harris, and an heiress, and that Lieut. Butler m. in 1727 Deborah, relict of Ebenezer Dennis, and had a son, John Cap, April 28, 1728. That the name of Walter Butler is associated with the annals of Tryon County, N. Y., as well as with N. London; that he received a military appointment in the Mohawk country in 1728, and removed his family there fourteen years after, where he was several years captain of the Fort. That Capt. Butler was ancestor of Col. John and Walter, who were associated with the Johnsons as royalists in the beginning of the War of the Revolution—and few of this family or descendants are now found at N. London."

It has been erroneously stated that Col. John Butler who commanded the Indians and Tories at the massacre of Wyoming, July 3, 1778, was a cousin of Col. Zebulon Butler, who commanded the Americans on that unfortunate day. But my great-grandfather, Matthias Hallenback, who was an ensign under Col. Zebulon, and who met Col. John in Canada after the war, stated that he had heard them both deny any relationship whatever.

Col. Zebulon was a son of John of Lyme. H. W., *Wilkes Barré.*

"Lost Governors of Penn'a" (ii. p. 110 and 231).—After a careful examination of the individuals named, I have ascertained that nearly all, if not all, were simply acting as Presidents of the Provincial Council *pro tempore*, and have no more right to a place on the roll of Provincial Executives than the persons who may temporarily fill the office of Speaker of the Penn'a House of Representatives during the absence, by illness or otherwise, of that presiding officer, to the title of an ex-speaker of that body. Filling these positions for the time being, signing bills, etc., do not make them Governors of the Province in the general acceptance of that term. Dauphin.

Henry Bouquet

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN POSSESSION OF MRS J. FRANCIS FISHER.

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BRIGADIER-GENERAL HENRY BOUQUET.

BY GEORGE HARRISON FISHER.

MR. C. G. F. DUMAS, in presenting to the public his French translation of the Account of Bouquet's Expedition against the Ohio Indians, published at Amsterdam in 1769, says he had had the intention of writing Bouquet's life, and for that purpose had counted upon securing many of his private letters. Bouquet, says Dumas,[1] "managed his pen as well as he wielded his arms, and that is saying a great deal. I did not despair, in making use of his own colors, of painting his portrait in a manner worthy of him. But the very circumstance which has preserved to posterity the papers of so many other great men, their intrinsic value, has been the misfortune of those of Mr. Bouquet. Everybody was anxious to read his letters; whenever they arrived they were laid hands upon, and were widely circulated. They to whom they were addressed could

[1] The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has in its Library, besides the French edition of Bouquet's Expedition, the original edition published at Philadelphia in 1765 by Bradford, the London reprint of 1766, and an edition published at Cincinnati in 1868 by R. Clarke & Co., with an introduction by Mr. Parkman. The original Philadelphia edition is very rare. A copy was sold last year for $52.50.

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not get them again; in fact they have disappeared, and with all the stir I have made I have not been able to recover a single one of them. I have only been able to procure some dates of the principal events of his life, and I add the little I can remember having heard related in company by several of his friends."

Dumas then gives, in three or four pages, an outline of Bouquet's life, fortunately giving the larger space to his career in Europe, for of this we know nothing from any other source. We should like to have fuller details of the course of training which enabled Bouquet to cope successfully with the Indians, in a field where so few European generals added anything to their reputation, and how it was that he, a foreigner, learned to understand the politics of the American colonists better than most of their English kinsmen. The sketch by Dumas is well known through Mr. Parkman's translation, published in the recent Cincinnati edition of Bouquet's Expedition against the Ohio Indians, before referred to. To this translation Mr. Parkman has added some valuable explanatory notes, but as to Bouquet's life in Europe, no new matter. If Dumas, living in Holland among Bouquet's friends, and within four years of his death, has told us all he could ascertain about Bouquet's European career, it is not to be expected that research at the present day can lead to new information. For the benefit of those who have not access to Mr. Parkman's translation I shall briefly recapitulate the main facts therein contained. In America, Bouquet's military services against the French, and afterwards against the Indians, have been so fully described in the general history of the colonies, that I shall not relate them in detail. More fortunate than Dumas, I have in my possession a few confidential letters from Bouquet, at various posts in Pennsylvania, to a lady in Philadelphia. I shall state a few facts and make a few observations to introduce and explain these letters which are now printed for the first time.

Henry Bouquet was born at Rolle, a small Swiss town on the northern shore of the Lake of Geneva, in 1719. At the

age of seventeen he entered the army of the Low Countries, and at nineteen was commissioned an ensign. After that, he served with distinction under the King of Sardinia in the war against France and Spain. In 1748 he re-entered the Dutch service, and was employed by the Prince of Orange in occupying the posts in the Low Countries lately evacuated by the French under the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and in arranging the return of prisoners. He then travelled in Italy in company with Lord Middleton, and it is probably to this association that he owed his surprising knowledge of English. The letters that I shall transcribe would hardly be supposed to be the composition of a foreigner, who probably never left the continent of Europe till he was approaching middle age. On his return from Italy Bouquet lived several years at the Hague, industriously studying his profession and cultivating the friendship of the learned men of that place.

The war between England and France, in America, opened disastrously for the English in 1755. It was necessary for the English government to send out reinforcements, and Parliament passed the Act of 29 Geo. II., c. v. Under this act a corps was organized styled the "Royal American Regiment," for service in the colonies. This body was to consist of four battalions of 1000 men each. Fifty of the officers might be foreign Protestants, while the enlisted men were to be raised principally from among the German settlers in America. It was probably hoped that by this means some military enthusiasm might be excited among an apathetic population. Sir Joseph Yorke, the English Ambassador at the Hague, persuaded Bouquet and his friend and compatriot Frederick Haldimand to join this corps with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Bouquet sailed for America in the summer of 1756, and here, where the most brilliant portion of his life was beginning, the sketch by Dumas practically closes.

While the native English officers, engaged in America, often owed their advancement to exterior influence, Bouquet seems to have gained his promotions by merit and hard service under various commanders. Dumas tells us nothing of his family. His name is not distinguished, and in his will he

disposed of a large landed estate without naming a single relative.

Bouquet, with several other officers of the Royal Americans, arrived in New York in June. The Earl of Loudoun, who had been appointed colonel of the corps, and commander-in-chief of the army in America, preceded him by some weeks. Lord Loudoun seems to have been as incapable of understanding the temper of the Colonies as was Braddock, and without Braddock's personal courage. Franklin says a friend of his remarked that Loudoun was like St. George on the sign boards, being always on horseback and never riding on. On Nov. 24, 1756, Loudoun informed Governor Denny, of Pennsylvania, that quarters in Philadelphia must be provided for a battalion of the Royal Americans, and two independent companies, and the Governor transmitted the message to the Assembly, requesting them to act. The Assembly passed a bill providing for billets for the troops on the public houses of Philadelphia, which bill the Governor signed.

The troops now arrived in Philadelphia under the command of Bouquet, who complained bitterly to the Governor that the quarters assigned to him were inadequate to his needs,[1] that his men were suffering severely from the cold, that the smallpox was increasing among them, and that he was "cruelly and barbarously treated." Bouquet went on to write that, as a foreigner, he was loath to take violent measures, but that if something were not instantly done, he hoped the Governor would issue to the sheriff a warrant to assign him quarters in private houses. The Governor, in accordance with Bouquet's request, gave him a warrant directed to the sheriff, with a blank for the number of soldiers to be provided for in private houses. Bouquet afterwards stated that he did not wish this warrant to be used, but that he hoped that the Assembly would be stimulated to do something for him by the knowledge that such an instrument had issued. He lent the warrant to the sheriff, who promised to return it immediately, but who nevertheless took it directly to the Assembly,

[1] Col. Records, vol. vii. p. 358.

who were highly enraged. The Governor they said, a few days after assenting to a bill under which ample accommodations for the troops were assured, had grossly exceeded his authority.[1] They sent an angry message to Denny, who replied as angrily, and an agreement seemed impossible, when the Assembly undertook to house that portion of the troops that could not be lodged in the taverns, and Denny happily forbore to apply for aid to Loudoun, who would have had no compunction in marching his whole army to Philadelphia.

I do not attempt to pass upon the merits of this controversy. Quarrels between the Assembly and the Executive were occurring almost from Penn's first arrival until the Revolution. I have thought it worth while to describe this quarrel, because Pennsylvania's reception of Bouquet may have had something to do in creating his unfavorable impressions of the Province which we discover in his letters. He seems to have acted fairly in the matter. Though he was, of course, anxious that his soldiers should be properly cared for, he recognized the delicacy of his position as a foreign officer under an unpopular law; and there is no reason to doubt that he intended to use the warrant, as he declared, only *in terrorem*.

During the remainder of the winter 1756–7, Bouquet had no further difficulties with the civil authorities. Few English commanders lived so long in America so free from the censure of the people. Tradition tells us that he became a great favorite in society, and we know that he was a friend of Chief Justice Allen, of Benjamin Chew the Attorney-General, of Dr. Wm. Smith Provost of the University, and afterwards his historian, and of Bartram the botanist. He became intimate with the Shippen family, and through it, no doubt, with his future correspondent. In May, 1757, he was ordered to South Carolina with a detachment of the Royal Americans. The change of stations could not have been agreeable, for in September he wrote that his men were fast

[1] The number of officers and men to be provided for was about 550. A committee of the Assembly reported that there were in Philadelphia, excluding the suburbs, 117 licensed public houses.

dying of the fever.[1] The experience he gained from the Philadelphia quarrel about quarters seems now to have been useful to him, for in a similar quarrel between Governor Lyttleton, of South Carolina, and the Assembly, Mr. Bancroft tells us that Bouquet successfully acted the part of a conciliator.[2]

In 1756 and 1757 the arms of England made no progress in America. The French were undisturbed not only in Canada, but in northern New York, and at all the western forts. But in July, 1757, the great Pitt again came into power, and in little more than a year all was changed. Pitt understood the causes of American discontent. Among the grievances of which the Colonies most complained was their constant uncertainty how much, and for what particular military objects, they would be called upon to contribute. It was now announced that while New England, New York, and New Jersey would be expected to assist in the northern campaigns, Pennsylvania and the South would be looked to for help in the conquest of the West. It was promised that England should provide arms, ammunition, and tents, while nothing would be required of the Colonies but the levying, and clothing, and pay of their troops, and even for these expenses, Parliament was to be urged to reimburse the Colonies. Relying on these promises, Pennsylvania went into the campaign of 1758 with greatly increased ardor, and raised 2700 men for the expedition against Fort Duquesne.

This expedition was put under the command of Brigadier-General John Forbes, a Scotch officer of merit. Bouquet, recalled from Charleston with the Royal Americans, was second in command. The army was to consist of about 7000 men, including 2600 Virginians, under Colonel George Washington. Bouquet with a portion of the forces, in advance of the main body, reached Fort Bedford, about 100 miles to the east of Duquesne, early in July. On July 3, Washington was at Fort Cumberland, about 30 miles south of Bedford.

[1] Pennsylvania Archives, iii. 266.
[2] History of the U. S. iv. 270.

On July 25, he wrote to Bouquet strenuously advising that the expedition should at once proceed to Duquesne by Braddock's old road from Cumberland.[1]

Bouquet was strongly in favor of cutting a new road to extend from Bedford, through Pennsylvania, nearly in a straight line, crossing the Loyal Hanna Creek at about fifty miles from Bedford. Washington urged the following of the old road on the ground that it would not be possible to make a new one that season; but Bouquet carried his point with Forbes, and sent forward Colonel James Burd to cut a way through the forest to the Loyal Hanna, and erect a stockade there. His instructions to Burd, in which he enjoins the utmost silence and caution, forbidding him to beat a drum, or fire an unnecessary shot, show that the lesson of Braddock's defeat was not forgotten.[2] On September 1, Washington writes: "All is dwindled into ease, sloth, and fatal inactivity." "Nothing but a miracle can bring this campaign to a happy issue."[3]

But Bouquet was not idle. "Every afternoon," writes Joseph Shippen at Bedford to his father, "he exercises his men in the woods and bushes in a particular manner of his own invention, which will be of great service in an engagement with the Indians."[4]

Forbes was long delayed by illness and by other causes, and Bouquet left Bedford before he arrived. We do not know with certainty what were Bouquet's reasons for his tenacity of purpose about the roads. Washington himself states that the distance from Bedford to Duquesne by way of Cumberland was 145 miles, while the new road would be but 100 miles long. It has been suggested that Bouquet dreaded the moral effect which might be produced upon his men by the associations of Braddock's route, that he wished to open and maintain the most direct communication with Philadelphia,

[1] Sparks's Washington, ii. 307, etc.

[2] Bouquet to Burd. Shippen MSS. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania), vol. iii. p. 189.

[3] Sparks's Washington, ii. 311.

[4] Shippen MSS. iii. 187 (Aug. 15, 1758).

his chief base of supplies, and that he feared that the Pennsylvania farmers would be unwilling to leave their own province.[1] We know that he had the greatest difficulty in procuring the wagons necessary for the march.[2] The farmers with whom he had to deal were, for the most part, Germans, who took little interest in a war between the English and the French, but were anxious to have all the security from Indian incursions that the establishment of new military posts could afford. Bouquet afterwards attributed the success of the expedition, in great part, to the adoption of his route.[3]

A reconnoitering party, which set out from the fort at the Loyal Hanna, and reached a point within a mile or two of Duquesne, was surprised and driven back with great loss, but afterwards an attack by the French and Indians on the fort at the Loyal Hanna was easily repulsed. Forbes, who was so ill that he had to be carried on a litter swung between two horses, had reached Bedford on September 15, where he was joined by Washington. He did not reach Loyal Hanna until about November 1, and the expedition would, perhaps, as Washington feared, have gone no further, but for information gained from some prisoners that the French were in very small force at Duquesne.[4] A great portion of the Indians had gone away for their winter's hunting.[5] They were, no doubt, in part influenced by the promises made to them at the treaty of Easton, alluded to in Bouquet's first letter, partly by the cutting off of supplies which was the result of Bradstreet's recent capture of Fort Frontenac, and partly by the repulse at Loyal Hanna. Washington was sent forward to open the fifty miles of road that remained, and the army reached the smoking ruins of Fort Duquesne on November 25. The French had set it on fire and deserted it, and the last of their troops were seen hurrying down the Ohio in

[1] Craig's Olden Time, i. 264.
[2] Shippen MSS. iii. 175. Et passim.
[3] Bouquet to Chief Justice Allen, Nov. 25, 1758.
[4] Sparks's Washington, ii. 316.
[5] Rupp's Western Pennsylvania, 139.

boats as the advance of the English rushed to the works swearing vengeance.[1] The confluence of the Monongahela and the Allegheny was immediately selected as the site of a city to be called PITTSBURGH, but Fort Pitt was not built on the ruins of the old fort by General Stanwix until the following year.

The capture of Fort Duquesne proved as great a blessing to the people of Pennsylvania as Bouquet and others had foretold. Forbes returned almost immediately to Philadelphia, where he died a few weeks later, and was buried with great honors in Christ Church. Bouquet, being left in command, held a conference with the Delaware Indians, in which he assured them that the only object of the English in maintaining armed forces in the Indian hunting country was the protection of their traders from the French, who alone, he said, had any hostile intentions against the Indians. It is hardly likely the Delawares believed all this, but they were thoroughly frightened, and they promised to throw the French over, and to live peaceably with their new invaders. These promises were, in the main, kept for several years. During the remainder of the French war, the frontier settlements were generally free from Indian molestation, and it is stated in Smollett's History of England, that four thousand settlers, who had left their homes in terror during the last few years, now returned.[2]

Nor did the French ever after seriously trouble the people of Pennsylvania. They did not evacuate their forts at Presqu' Isle and Venango until the following year, but these forts were out of the line of emigration. While the crowning victories of the English in Canada were yet to be won, the

[1] Craig's Olden Time, i. 182.

[2] Whether Bouquet was right or wrong in his judgment as to the best military road to Duquesne, the selection of a road entirely through Pennsylvania must have proved of great advantage to that province, and no doubt influenced many of the settlers who returned. Mr. Hildreth says the choice was made in the interest of Pennsylvania land speculators, but for this he cites no authority, and the probable motives of Bouquet, suggested above, are sufficient to justify his decision at the time.

conquest of the Ohio valley was now assured, and under the liberal policy of Pitt no further aid was to be asked from Pennsylvania.

Bouquet remained in the province generally at the outlying posts. This garrison duty was naturally irksome to a man of his active temperament, and we shall see by his letters that he found himself very much alone among his fellow officers, who as a rule were far inferior to himself in general cultivation. Mr. Dumas tells us "he made no claim to the good opinion of others, neither did he solicit it. All were compelled to esteem him, and hence there were many of his profession who thought they could dispense with loving him." But that he was a man capable of the warmest feelings no reader of his letters can deny.

I do not possess the answers of Bouquet's correspondent Anne Willing. She was the daughter of Charles Willing, a well-known merchant of Philadelphia, by his wife Anne Shippen. She was twenty-five years old when the correspondence began, and her portrait represents a graceful, handsome, and intelligent-looking young woman. In the society in which she lived she was considered highly accomplished, and she had had the unusual advantage of a visit to her father's relations in England. According to a tradition in her family, she was very much in love with Bouquet, was engaged to him, and would have married him had he been willing to leave the army, but she declined to follow the drum. Bouquet's letters are consistent with this hypothesis, but they do not exclude every other. It would appear that at least what is called an understanding existed between the parties to the correspondence. If they seriously thought of marriage, they were not so young and foolish as to be unable to consider all the circumstances which would or would not make their happiness probable, and they were not crushed by their ultimate determination. A year after Bouquet's last letter here printed, Miss Willing married Tench Francis, and made him an admirable and most loving wife. Bouquet remained in the army, where his greatest services to Pennsylvania were still to be performed. His friend seems to have

continued to write to him, after her marriage. Her sister writes to her, "remember me to Bouquet when you next write; he is a good creature." Four years later Bouquet, by his will, left his farm in Huntingdon County, to which one of his letters alludes, to Thomas Willing, the brother of Anne, and thus showed that he had no ill feeling against the family.

Bouquet's criticisms upon the state of society in Pennsylvania require little comment. They are valuable as coming from a cool-headed foreign observer. Common courtesy would have restrained him from intentionally over-drawing the unflattering picture, intended for the eyes of a lady living among the surroundings he described. We owe much to the Quakers for their efforts in the establishment of civil and religious liberty, for their steady industry which enriched the province; for their benevolence in founding charitable institutions. But their influence was unquestionably unfavorable to learning. They held that their teachers of religion required no training, and they discouraged all litigation, as worldly. In the other colonies, the Church and the Bar offered attractions to liberally educated men, which did not exist here. The reputation of Philadelphia lawyers was acquired much later. As the Quakers held even defensive wars sinful, it was impossible for them to remain in public affairs when the danger of foreign invasion was imminent. Thus it happened that not only in the learned professions, but in politics, the Quakers lost influence, and men of broader views but of less property and respectability gave their tone to society. Bouquet saw Pennsylvania in perhaps its worst days, while this social transition was in progress.

I have said that Bouquet's greatest acts remained to be performed, but I set out merely to edit his letters, though I have been tempted to mention some of the less known events of his life, not alluded to in his correspondence. The History of Bouquet's Expedition against the Ohio Indians, by Dr. William Smith, describes two of the most important campaigns that had ever been fought on this continent, and Mr.

Parkman, in writing his History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac, has elaborated Dr. Smith's narrative, and so enriched it by his researches that I could only abridge and spoil it. I need only say that after the peace with France in 1763, all the western Indians united in an attempt to expel the English from their country, and they nearly succeeded, for they captured all the frontier forts except at Niagara, Pittsburgh, and Detroit. Fort Pitt was fiercely assailed and for weeks blockaded, but it was most gallantly defended by Ecuyer, a countryman of Bouquet's. The Indians overran Pennsylvania, burning villages, and murdering settlers, and scalping parties came within a few miles of Lancaster. Upon Bouquet, then in command at Philadelphia, all hopes were centred, and his commander-in-chief, Sir Jeffrey Amherst, directed him to relieve Fort Pitt. No provincial troops could be raised with sufficient speed, and Bouquet set out in July, with 500 regulars, on what Mr. Parkman justly calls an almost desperate undertaking. Bouquet's little army toiled though the forest to Bushy Run, within twenty miles of Fort Pitt, when they were attacked by an equal number of savages. While Bouquet had experience in Indian warfare his men had none, and the victory remained in doubt for a whole day, but on the second day Bouquet, by feigning a retreat, succeeded in what few commanders have ever succeeded, in drawing the savages from their cover into a mass, when he charged and routed them. Fort Pitt was saved, and the settlers of Pennsylvania escaped perhaps years of suffering. In the following year Bouquet made his victory complete. He led a small force, now increased by provincial levies from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, through the wilderness of Ohio to the forks of the river Muskingum, about 150 miles west of Pittsburgh. The Delawares, Shawanoes, and Mingoes were so over-awed by the recollection of his victory, and by his display of power in penetrating to the heart of a country which they had thought inaccessible to white men, that they begged for peace, and agreed to restore all their white prisoners, whether English or French; giving hostages for those that

they could not immediately deliver up.[1] On these terms Bouquet granted the Indians an armistice and permission to send delegates to the King's Indian Agent, Sir Wm. Johnson, who after exacting some further conditions agreed to a peace, and Pontiac's war soon came to an end.

In summing up Bouquet's character, Dumas says: "Respected by the soldiers, in credit with all those who had a share in the internal government of the Provinces, universally esteemed and loved, he had but to ask and he obtained all that it was possible to grant, because it was believed that he asked nothing but what was necessary and proper, and that all would be faithfully employed for the services of the King and the Provinces. This good understanding between the civil and military authorities contributed to his success quite as much as his ability."[2] We have seen that Bouquet was much annoyed, on his arrival in Philadelphia, by the backwardness of the Assembly in providing quarters for his troops. We have seen that he had great difficulty in obtaining transportation for Forbes's expedition, and that he fought the campaign of 1763 without any troops at all from the Province most deeply concerned. We shall see that his opinion of the state of society in Pennsylvania was, at least a little while before the dates last mentioned, highly unfavorable. But that he deserves the credit Dumas gives him for maintaining amicable relations with the local government is proved not only by the general absence of complaint which was lavished upon most of the British officers of his time, but by the address of the Assembly delivered to him on his return to Philadelphia in January, 1765. In this address Bouquet is specially praised for his "constant attention to the civil rights of his majesty's subjects," as deserving the

[1] On Nov. 15, 1764, Bouquet wrote to Gov. Penn from the forks of the Muskingum: "We have already upwards of 200 captives delivered, and many of them have remained so many years among the Indians that they part from them with the greatest reluctance. We are obliged to keep guards to prevent their escape, and unless they are treated with indulgence and tenderness by their relatives, they will certainly return to their savage masters."

[2] The translation is here Mr. Parkman's.

gratitude of the Province, no less than his victories. In the course of his answer to this address Bouquet observes: "Your kind testimony of my constant attention to the civil rights of his majesty's subjects in this Province, does me singular honor, and calls for the return of my warmest acknowledgments." I have given, perhaps, too much space to the consideration of Bouquet's relations with the government of the Province, but it is striking that so much praise for his respect for civil rights should have been given to a soldier of fortune.

The Assembly recommended Bouquet to the king for promotion, but there was great doubt whether, as an alien, he was capable by law of holding higher rank. It was probably for this reason that on March 3, 1765, he was naturalized by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania in accordance with a late Act of Parliament.[1] Still he hardly hoped for promotion, as appears from the following letter to Benjamin Chew, the Attorney-General of Pennsylvania, which must have been written some time in March.

"*Private.* My good friend must be the first to know the unexpected favor said to have been conferred upon me by his majesty, in appointing me Brigadier-General, as I have it not from authority, but by private letters of my friends, dated Feb. 13. I would not choose any one but you should be acquainted with it."

The good news was confirmed, to everybody's satisfaction.

Bouquet expected to be called to England, but he was ordered to Pensacola, to take command of the king's forces in the Southern Department of America. He arrived at this most unhealthy post on August 23, 1765, the deadliest season of the year. He took the fever, and on September 2 he was dead.[2]

[1] In vol. ii. of the 2d series of Pennsylvania Archives we find among the names of those naturalized Henry Bougriet, Colonel of the Royal American Regiment. I have not seen the original document, but the variation in the name, if not a misprint, must be due to a clerical error.

[2] Pennsylvania Journal, Oct. 24, 1765, where the following obituary notice appears: "This gentleman had served his majesty all the last war with great distinction. He was promoted from merit not only unenvied,

LETTERS OF COL. HENRY BOUQUET TO MISS ANNE WILLING.

FORT DUQUESNE, Nov. 25, 1758.

DEAR NANCY: I have the satisfaction to give you the agreeable news of the conquest of this terrible Fort. The French seized with a panic at our approach have destroyed themselves—that nest of Pirates which has so long harboured the murderers and destructors of our poor People.

They have burned and destroyed to the ground their fortifications, houses, and magazines, and left us no other cover than the heavens—a very cold one for an army without Tents or Equipages. We bear all this hardship with alacrity by the consideration of the immense advantage of this important acquisition.

The glory of our success must after God be allowed to our General, who from the beginning took those wise measures which deprived the French of their chief strength, and by the treaty of Easton kept such a number of Indians idle during the whole campaign, and procured a peace with those inveterate enemies, more necessary and beneficial to the safety and welfare of the Provinces than the driving the French from the Ohio. His prudence in all his measures, in the numberless difficulties he had to surmount, deserves the highest praises. I hope that glorious advantage will be improved, and this conquest properly supported by speedy and vigorous measures of the Provinces concerned. I wish sincerely that for their interest and happiness they may agree on that point, but I will not speak politics to a young lady.

I hope to have soon the pleasure to see you, and give you a more particular account of what may deserve your curiosity:

but with the approbation of all who knew him. His superior judgment and knowledge of military matters, his experienced abilities, known humanity, and remarkable politeness, and constant attention to the civil rights of his majesty's subjects, rendered him an honor to his country, and a loss to mankind." I am indebted for this reference, and for much other help in the preparation of this article, to Mr. F. D. Stone, Librarian of the Hist. Soc. of Pa., to whom, and to Mr. Townsend Ward, who has also kindly assisted me, I make the warmest acknowledgments.

chiefly about the beauty of this situation, which appears to me beyond my description.

Farewell, my dear Nancy. My compliments to the family, and believe me most sincerely,

Your most devoted hble. Sert.,
H. BOUQUET.

BEDFORD, 17th Sept. 1759.

Our post has been so irregular that I received only a few days ago your kind favour of the 24th August. I was in no hurry to answer it, supposing that at this time you are at the Capes. I shall say nothing of the occasion of that journey. I know how sensible a sorrow your parting with so dear a Sister must have been to you. Poor Dolly! she is gone[1]—My most sincere wishes for her safety and happiness will constantly attend her. You made me very easy in obtaining the positive assurance that she should come back, for I confess that any separation in your family would be a flaw in my happiness.

You give a description of your retreat that awakes the strong inclination I had for a country life. But few people are so well qualified as my dear Nancy to enjoy all the sweets of it; an easy and cheerful mind, open to the agreeable impressions of Natural Beauties, a lively and pliable imagination, which you can manage at pleasure, and a heart full of the most tender affection for your friends. No wonder that with so many amiable qualifications you can make a Paradise of a Solitude.

How different is my situation, continually among a crowd, but without friends, I can say that I also live in a solitude, and of the worst kind. You are very right to hate war—it is an odious thing, tho' if considered in a proper light we could discover many advantages arising from that very calamity. Is it not a fact that a long and uninterrupted peace corrupts

[1] Miss Willing's sister Dolly had several years before married Captain, afterwards Sir Walter Sterling, R. N. She had now gone to join her husband in England, and her mother and sister had accompanied her as far as the Capes of Delaware.

the manners, and breeds all sorts of vices? Like a stagnated air we require then the agitation of winds, and even storms to prevent a general infection, and to destroy a multitude of insects equally troublesome and dangerous to society. The necessity of action gives a new spring to our souls, real merits and virtues are no longer trampled upon by the arrogant pride of wealth and Place. The prejudice in favour of Birth, Fortune, Rank, vanishes. We cease to value people who have nothing more considerable than such frivolous and exteriour advantages, we discover their emptiness, and esteem them in proportion.

I would go further if I were not afraid to shock the tenderness of your concern for mankind in general. You would perhaps judge it cruel and inhuman to reckon among the advantages to be derived from War, the destruction of beings who, by their vices or circumstances, would be a nuisance to Society; I suppose that it was upon that principle that the most shocking scenes of barbarity, including the scalping of your inhabitants, were not much lamented by some of your own people who are charged to have said, that it was no great matter if a parcel of such wretches were swept away. It is true enough that numbers of the inhabitants of the frontiers are a worthless breed, and that the public did not suffer a great loss in getting rid of that vermin, which in time would have perverted the few good ones among them. To judge by what remains, they were no better than the savages, and their children brought up in the Woods like Brutes, without any notion of Religion, Government, Justice, or Honesty would not have improved the Breed.

Forgive this nonsence occasioned by your pity for the poor Inhabitants of Quebec. I would reconcile you a little to my profession which has really no more cruelty in it than what we see daily without concern in the World—Lawsuits, Quarrels, Contentions, &c., what are they but wars between individuals? It is true they don't kill one another for fear of being hanged, but they go as far as they can safely venture, in hurting their enemies to the utmost of their power in their Fortune and reputation.

The adventure of poor Jack F. will hinder a war of that kind. I have heard something of it and was glad to know some more particulars from you. Not that I have any concern for either of the parties, I was only pleased to notice on that occasion your generous sentiments of humanity. I have felt too much the power of Love to be insensible to the Pains of a disappointed swain. I pity him, though I cannot help being surprised that having had for a whole year free and undisturbed access to the young thief, he could not make an agreeable impression upon her novice heart. Both sexes have an equal tendency to Love, and opportunity fixes that natural disposition to one object. A sincere passion supported by some little arts will always succeed when your pride is not in the way, and since he has miscarried with most of those advantages, it must certainly be his fault. What must he do now? Sure no girl will listen to him, and he must either shift his stage or hang himself, for there is no living in my opinion without Love, and Love without return is of all the miseries of life the most intolerable. Let him then go over the seas, I have done with him.

I am much obliged by your offer o. Tea, &c. I shall make free to apply to you when I want anything. Our affairs are at last in a tolerable way, and I expect to go to Pittsburgh at the end of this month. I recommend my little Hut to your protection. It will be infinitely more agreeable to me if I know that you have been in it. There is no appearance that I shall enjoy the pleasure of your neighbourhood this year.

Farewell, my dear Nancy. My respects to *Maman* and the family. We have no news, and shall have none on this side. Therefore, if you favour me so much as to continue this correspondence it will be pure generosity without the least grain of Curiosity.

LANCASTER, 28th Feb. 1760.

Your extremely kind favour without date came last night to my hands, I should say to my heart, for I assure you it gave me the greatest pleasure.

I had imagined that you had either forgotten me or that I

had disobliged you, though I could not guess how that could be, either in deeds or thoughts. That fancy made me uneasy until I was so agreeably deceived by your letter. I have sincerely felt with you that natural joy of a well-meaning heart in the prosperity of our cause. But as to any private news of consequence to me only I had no reason to be pleased. It is now probable I shall quit the service as soon as I can decently. I will not trouble you with my reasons for it, tho' if you have any curiosity to know them you will be satisfied when we meet, as I have *no secrets from you.* But no more of this.

You have written to me with more openness than usual, and I thank you for that favour.

You found at last a certain way of pleasing me in speaking of yourself, a subject of all the most interesting to me; but you wrong me in supposing that I only pay you a compliment when I say I do prefer your conversation to any other pleasure. That is literally true, and I beg you will for once believe me, and if that persuasion can make you *scribble*, Pray do scribble away, sure to oblige me infinitely. It is very true that I told you that the letters you used to write to me were *stiff* and *precise*, it was indeed so. Now you have mended your style, and I indeed acknowledge it with gratitude. Should I grant indeed that you had no design in it, I must take it to be so still, which I am unwilling to allow, choosing rather to be agreeably deceived than to suppose that you do not intend to oblige me.

Poor Dolly! how kind it was to think of me in the hurry of her first letter, I hardly can believe it, and I must read again that Paragraph to be persuaded. I hope she will find London as disagreeable as I do, and for the same reason—parting us from our best friends—The news of her safe arrival was not the least agreeable this Packet brought.

Why did you not go to the Assembly? upon such a brilliant night. I am afraid you were not well, tell me I am mistaken. To see two such Brides at once in Philadelphia is a novelty worth looking for. And you say you did not envy them. Pray, is it their new state in general, or any particular cir-

cumstance you don't like? for my part, I cannot help wishing to be as happy as people are generally in that station when matrimony, as in the present case, is the effect of your choice, and attended with the Public's approbation.

Can you not imagine that there is a real happiness, in being united for life, to the person we esteem and love best, and as a true, *honest girl*, answer fairly the other question. Don't you know any such thing in the world as the man who could make you think so? But this is diving too deeply into the recesses of your heart. Therefore, I stop and beg you will only believe that nobody deserves more your confidence by his sentiments, than your most devoted and faithful friend.

H. B.

PITTSBURGH, 4th July, 1760.

MY DEAREST NANCY: I acknowledge with the greatest pleasure and truth that you are in every respect the honour of your sex, and tho: you tax me with having a cold heart, I can assure you it is full of gratitude and love for you. I deserve reproaches less gentle than yours, but I hope you will forgive me, when I tell my reasons for not writing to you. I was vexed at several things that made me so cross and peevish that I found myself completely unqualified to address you in any shape. I have not the useful art to dissemble, I must appear what in reality I am, and in that disposition of mind I was certain that my letters would only be disagreeable, or at best insipid to you. This is true, and I think you ought rather to thank than to blame me. But if I did not write I am conscious not to have spent one day without thinking of you, and to those thoughts I owe the only happy moments I have enjoyed. If the tide of my affection is *near spent* it must be the tide of my inconstancy, for I am entirely devoted to you.

As to the new farm, I think I owe the possession of it to the obliging care of your brother. I was fond of that acquisition as long as I considered it in point of interest. But in reflecting that every day I might spend there would keep me absent from you, I felt my fancy much cooled.

It is a mere wilderness, capable indeed of improvement, and if a distance of 140 miles from Philadelphia were an inconvenience to be removed I would be entirely satisfied with the place.

I am anxious to hear of Mrs. Sterling, and beg to be remembered to her every time you write.

I was told that she was to come back with her husband. I wish it may be so, she will certainly be happier at home than in England.

Tho' I may receive news from Philadelphia, you know very well that from you they would be more interesting—but provided you tell me what passes in your heart I acquit you of all the rest. In four days I am to march to Presqu' Isle with some troops. You may safely write to me. Your letters shall be carefully forwarded; if I could not so regularly write to you, I hope you will not judge of my affection for you by the number of my letters, nor defer writing until you can do it in answer. I request this favour most *earnestly.*

Farewell, my dearest, I love you most sincerely. The same sentiments from you would secure my happiness.

H. B.

Fort Pitt, 15th Jan'y, 1761.

The judicious reflections contained in your letter of the 14th Dec'r do an equal honour to your understanding and the goodness of your heart. You are of opinion that (the first place excepted) there is nothing in our profession worth the thoughts of a man of sense. You may suppose that being so nearly concerned in that subject, I must often have weighed every argument Pro and Con. But yet I cannot determine which way the scale may turn at last. Born and educated in Europe, where I was used to a variety of agreeable and improving conversations, I must confess that I don't find it easy to satisfy my taste in that way. In this Country, the Gentlemen are so much taken up with the narrow sphere of their Politicks or their private affairs that a Loiterer has no chance with them. The ladies who are settled in the world are commonly involved and buried in the details of their

families, and when they have given you the anecdotes of their days work, and the pretty sayings of their children, with a dish of tea, you may go about your business, unless you choose to have the tale over again. The young ones having little or nothing in their heads, have only their pretty faces to shew, and leave you to wish for the more agreeable endowments of a well-bred Woman, who can charm your mind as well as your eyes, and soften by the irrepressible enchantment of her conversation the Toils and Anxieties attending our Stations in Life. This being the case in general (no matter whether real or imaginary), I say that if I should get rid of the continual occupation of a military life, I should of course feel a weariness of which I see nothing that would relieve me. We must have some object in view, what could be mine? I have no turn or capacity for Agriculture, or any kind of business. How could I spend my time in a manner satisfactory to myself or useful to others? From being something I should fall to nothing, and become a sort of incumbrance in the Society.

How could I brook the supercilious look and the surly pride of the Humble Quaker? or the insulting rudeness of an Assembly-man, who, picked up from a dunghill, thinks himself raised to a Being of a Superior nature? How submit to the insolent Rusticity of the free Pennsylvania Boor, who knows no distinction among mankind, and from a vile Slavery in his native country takes his newly acquired Liberty for a right to run into all the Excesses of Licentiousness and Arrogance.

In civilized countries reciprocal regards are paid by one individual to another, which are the chief ingredients of happiness. They arise generally from Power, Richesses, or personal Merit. Here the two first are only known and respected, the third despised as a thing of no use. Making the application to myself, who am far from being rich, if I resign the power I possess by virtue of my rank in the Army I must be alert to get out of anybodys way for fear of being trampled upon and crushed as a crawling insect. Now what do you think preferable, to be under the command of one or two

gentlemen, or exposed to be insulted with impunity by the majority of a People of such a strange mixture.

I know this is exaggerated, and that plausible answers can be given to each Argument. It is the very thing I want. I would choose to be convinced that a full Liberty with some inconveniences is preferable to an honourable Slavery attended with real advantages.

Now, my dear Nancy, try your persuasive eloquence. If I am to be persuaded it must be by you for whom I have that powerful prepossession which enforces the weight of reason, solves difficulties, and finds a ready access to the heart.

This is too long a dissertation, which must tire you, but I am half joking, half in earnest, and I really do not know what will be the best for me to do, to quit the service or continue in it.

I expect in a few days some of the Royal Welsh, and hope when all is set to rights . . . . . that I shall have a chance to go down.

Farewell, my dearest,

I am Sincerely yours,

H. B.

MARYLAND GOSSIP IN 1755.

(A postscript to Daniel Dulany's letter in the last number of this MAGAZINE, vol. iii. p. 31.)

I have sent you in this Packet the application for a Militia-Law, the Address of the Quakers, and Colonel Coles's letter.

Will Bordley lately married a virgin of fifty, one Miss Pearce. One Belchior, a clergyman who was chaplain to a man of war, and had not even religion and discretion enough for that station, came to this Province some little time ago, hearing no doubt that it was the asylum for men of his profession and character. He published proposals for writing the history of America, in which he was to prove the extreme politeness and hospitality of the inhabitants. These proposals made him welcome almost everywhere, especially on the Eastern Shore, where he principally lived. I remember the man at the University, a circumstance he availed himself of by adding that we had been intimate, and this though I don't remember that we were even upon the terms of common academical acquaintance.

He borrowed money of every one who would lend it, and practised almost every art of deceit, but with so much closeness and secrecy that his villainy was not fully detected till he had ruined poor Miss B . . . The fellow had the impudence to ask Mr. Goldsborough for his consent to make his addresses to Miss Robins. He pretended to be in no hurry for an answer, that if the young lady was not engaged, and there were no personal objections to him, he would make it appear that he was a man of character, family, and fortune by ample testimonials from England. But Mr. Goldsborough assuring him that his addresses would be fruitless, he at once gave up all pretensions. He is a man of some letters, insinuating in his address, and has the semblance of great good nature and modesty, when he has his points to carry. He came to this town and made himself known to me, and re-

membering his face at college I was civil to him, and introduced him to the Governor and other gentlemen here. He told me that he had a living at Barton, in Norfolk, that having labored under a disorder which his physicians advised him might be cured by two or three voyages, by the interest of a friend he procured an appointment to be chaplain to the Norwich man of war, but that this kind of life being very disagreeable, he had prevailed upon Captain Barrington (who commands the Norwich) to give him leave to travel over the continent, till the Norwich should be ordered from her station to England. It seems the man had a living in England, which is now under sequestration. This story was plausibly told, and he having been most respectfully entertained by Mr. Cam, the Professor of Divinity at Williamsburg, who knew him at Cambridge, I did not question the man's veracity. He made his addresses to Miss B., and married her, and very soon after the ceremony was performed he declared he would return immediately to England, and pretending he had received advice that a ship was ready to sail from Philadelphia, he set off for that place with his wife. There were many claims against him, which he was obliged to pay out of his wife's little fortune, and he had hardly left the Province before his character was fully known. There was hardly ever so great a rascal—he had imposed upon almost as many people as Tom Bell. He was turned out of the Norwich for his excessive wickedness. He has a wife and family in England, and his behavior to his wife in their journey to Philadelphia was such as alarmed her extremely before she knew his character, and since his villainies have been fully detected, I am told, she is persuaded that he had an accursed design upon her life. He has been advertised for horse stealing. When the poor girl got to Philadelphia, she heard of his being married before, and that his wife was alive. This threw her into the greatest imaginable distress. She could not live with him, and did not know how she could leave him, as he had determined in a day or two to leave Philadelphia, and was very watchful of her; and, as she was a stranger to every one in that place, she did not know to

whom to apply for protection. It had luckily happened that Col. Harrison, of Virginia, was then at Philadelphia. He had heard an indistinct account of a young lady from Maryland whose name was Belchior, and the wife of a clergyman, being ill used by her husband. He had heard a good deal of Belchior's fame in Virginia, and suspecting he had married this young lady, he found out her lodgings, and hearing her story from her own mouth, he took her away to his own lodgings, where Belchior demanded her, but Harrison being a man of spirit, and having great compassion for the girl's distress, refused to give her up, or suffer Belchior even to see her. When Mr. Harrison had done his business at Philadelphia he left that place, taking the girl with him in his chaise. At Chester Belchior attempted to break into the room, where she lodged, and intended to seize and carry her away by force, having two men whom he had hired, ready to assist him. In attempting to force the door, the girl being disturbed of her sleep, screamed out for help, and Harrison hearing the outcry, flew to the door of her chamber with a sword and pistol, and threatening Belchior that he would instantly dispatch him, if he did not desist from his attempt, he thought it prudent to retire, and Harrison brought her back to her friends. This behavior of Harrison was very generous and humane. One would be almost tempted to hope that this, with other instances of the same nature, would make our girls more cautious and prudent in marrying strangers, but as women, as well as men, show more violent symptoms of distraction in their impulses towards the other sex than in any other article, I should not wonder much if even this girl should be again ensnared in the same manner.

Jemmy Tilghman was for some time extremely fond of Belchior, who stuck close by him, till he drank out all his claret, a liquor he was particularly fond of, but this being only *vitium clerici* was not much noticed. As he had not an opportunity of debottling my cellar by coming to my house, he fell upon an expedient to do it in another way, which, however, failed him. He wrote to me that he was married, that he intended to return immediately to England, that Mrs.

Belchior was of a delicate constitution, might suffer much by a winter's passage, especially if he could not provide a little wine—that he had not been able to procure any, and that he should ever acknowledge it as a singular obligation if I would spare him a small quantity of the wine he drank at my house—five or six dozen bottles would be sufficient, with a few gallons of spirits. As Mrs. Belchior had not been married long enough to be in a longing condition, I apprehended that a less quantity, and a different sort of wine might do, and, therefore, I informed him that a merchant at this place could supply him with any quantity of good Madeira and spirits he might want, and heard no more from him.

All the French in Nova Scotia, whom they call Neutrals, have been disarmed and seized by Col. Lawrence and Col. Winslow. As they are very numerous (being near fifteen thousand souls), it was thought proper at a council of war, at which were present Boscawen, Mostyn, Lawrence, Winslow, and Monckton, to send to each colony a proportion of these people. Our proportion being nine hundred and three are already arrived at this place, and have almost eat us up. What is to be done with these people, God knows! They insist on being treated as prisoners of war. It was proposed to them to sign indentures for a short term, which they have refused. As there is no provision for them, they have been supported by private subscription. Political considerations may make this a prudent step, for anything I know, and perhaps their behavior may have deservedly brought their sufferings upon them; but 'tis impossible not to compassionate their distress.

The ancestors of some of these people were settled in Nova Scotia before the Treaty of Utrecht. It is, I believe, one of the Articles of that Treaty in the cession of this place to England, that these people should retain their possessions upon the terms of their taking the oath of allegiance. This assurance of their fidelity they have never given. Governor Phipps had agreed to accept of an oath of neutrality from them ('tis said), but this concession being disapproved of, they were called upon to take the oath of allegiance, which they

refused to do, and have, therefore, been dispossessed, etc. It is some time since I have seen the treaty, and I may, therefore, be mistaken. The effects of war are so calamitous that, "Give us peace in our times," is always part of my prayer.

We have been told that an Act of Parliament will soon be made to tax the Colonies for the support of an American war. If the dispute is to be continued, and our Mother Country does expect that we should bear our part of the burthen, which, indeed, seems reasonable, such an Act seems necessary, but so many things are to be considered in making a regulation of this sort just and effectual, that I dread the consequence of the Parliament's undertaking it. The circumstances of many of the Colonies are not sufficiently understood, and how they can be properly represented till we have an intimation that such a representation would be proper, I don't know.

If the Parliament should only ascertain the proportions of aid to be given by the several Colonies, and leave to our respective Legislatures the mode of raising money upon the people, every subject of contention would be revived, and it would become a trial of skill to gain as many points as possible upon each other. I am confident this Province could do but very little, our staple will hardly pay an additional duty, a poll tax, and a land tax would in effect be a tax upon tobacco. A tax upon our labor and our soil is the same with a tax upon the produce of both. We do already pay a very high duty upon tobacco, we take off in return for our tobacco the manufactures of our mother country, and by this duty, and the consumption of British commodities it may be demonstrated that the tobacco Colonies of Virginia and Maryland contribute more to the revenue of the crown, and to the employment of the British manufactories than all the Colonies to the Northward. The poorest sort of people to the Northward make all their clothes.

The 30 p. poll to the clergy is a grievous burthen. A family of ten persons that would be taxed in this Province 300 lbs. tobacco would not pay above the value of 50 lbs. tobacco to the Northward, which in this article alone, supposing

tobacco at 1d. per pound sterling, makes a difference of £1, 0, 10 sterling, and if they were to pay a tax equal to this difference, supposing only three hundred thousand taxables to the Northward, it would be a considerable sum to fall into the common stock.

As I have now quite tired my fingers with writing, I shall end in earnest, and take my leave of you, begging the favor of you to deliver the enclosed as it is directed, to Mr. Anderson, and to request Mr. Anderson to send me in by the first opportunity Strange's Reports, and in the line of Magazines and newspapers, to send me in the Monthly Review as it is published, I mean those which shall hereafter be published. As you will, I presume, communicate to him all the news I have wrote to you (and I have wrote to you all I have heard), I shall postpone writing to Mr. Anderson till another opportunity shall offer.

A WALK TO DARBY.

BY TOWNSEND WARD.

It is not surprising that Mr. Watson, living as he did at Germantown, should have given more space, in his "Annals of Philadelphia," to the city itself, and to the country north of it, than to the region south and west, whose history consequently is much less understood. Reflecting on this I decided to walk the road to Darby, not doubting that the story of its past was well worth knowing. Such a walk, however, required the companionship of one well acquainted with the road, and with the names, at least, of the people living on it, and so with such a friend I set out on my pilgrimage. The notes taken at the time lay for eight years untouched, but have now been revised with considerable care.

In the colonial time distances were measured from the old Provincial Hall, that until 1837 stood in the middle of Market Street on the west side of Second. There, in early days, were the elections held; and there, too, was the place of meeting of the Provincial Councils. They sat in sight of that emblem of sovereignty, the Royal Arms of England, of the time of Queen Anne, for they bear her initials, and the motto peculiar to her alone of all the sovereigns of that mighty island. These arms escaped the fury of our Revolution, and now hang on the walls of our Historical Society. The site of the Hall was, therefore, the point from which we started, but before doing so we listened for a moment to the bells of old Christ Church chiming, as they did when in that distant time the vicinity of the old London Coffee House, at the southwest corner of Front and Market Streets, was the busiest scene in all the city. That ancient structure yet stands, but it is no longer the central point of the capital of Pennsylvania, as it was in the time of its proprietor, William Bradford. William

Penn's house, erected in 1683, is also standing, but at some distance back from the street, and concealed from view by houses built on the northern part of the lot. Access to the house was provided for by a passageway left between them, called Letitia Court. Going out Market, or High Street, as it was formerly called, we soon passed the site of the house, on the south side below Sixth Street, once the residence of Richard Penn, and where Sir William Howe had his quarters when the British occupied the city, and where, afterwards, Washington lived while President. But we must not anticipate, for there must needs be much of history connected with a street in which Penn and Franklin and Washington have lived.

In its former days disorderly and unruly persons must have greatly disturbed the street, for it is recorded that "William Hill, the Beadle of the city, had lately in a heat broke his bell, and had given out that he would no longer continue at the place." Sorely as the tramps of the time provoked him, he, however, relented, and afterwards "expressed a great deal of sorrow, desiring to be continued during his good behaviour." Fairs were provided for, and they were opened with a proclamation that "All were to keep the King's peace, and that none were to presume to bear or carry any unlawful weapons to the terrour or annoyance of His Majesty's subjects, or to gallop or strain horses within the built parts of the city." This, no doubt, for a while, had its effect, and kept the street quiet, but not for any great length of time, as subsequently there is the appointment of Daniel Pellito as Public Whipper, at a salary of ten pounds per annum. It may be he was selected as a more efficient practitioner than his predecessors, and, perhaps, with a view to make the office of beadle an easier one. The whipping was performed at Second and Market Streets, and there, also, were to be seen the stocks and pillory. These were not agreeable objects in the sight of those who occasionally ornamented them, and so, on the first of October, 1726, they were burned by evil-minded persons. Of course they were soon rebuilt, and for many years continued to inspire terror to evil doers. A daughter of Dr.

Henry Paschall, Mrs. Mary P. Hopkins, whose protracted life closing near Paschallville in 1869 or 1870, at the great age of ninety-nine years and six months, connects that distant era with our own, often spoke of having seen a man in the stocks at that place. She would tell, too, of having seen her father shoot wild ducks at Fourth and Market Streets.

The "Great Meeting House of Friends," erected in 1695, was on the southwest corner of Second and High Streets. On the front of a house on the north side, just above Second Street, there was placed for the convenience of the people, a large sun-dial, that remained there until about forty years ago. The market houses, at the time that Silas Deane came here, 1775, were of the extent of about twelve hundred feet, situated along the middle of the street. They were gradually extended to Eighth Street, to be finally removed about 1860. Burton, the comedian, when he appeared before our audiences, sang of

> "The Mint where they make money,
> O lawk, what a pile;
> And a market that reaches
> For nearly a mile."

The three days' fairs of May and November, only abolished about 1787, made the street at times an enlivening and impressive scene; but it was from an early day a thoroughfare of note. Franklin, on his arrival here, entered it to buy his loaf of bread, and afterwards lived in it. In 1744, the Virginia Commissioners, and their Secretary, William Black, "took a turn to the Center House, where is a Billiard Table and Bowling Green," the date of whose disappearance, unfortunately, has not been recorded. It was here that Captain Scull was killed by Bruleman, formerly an officer in the British Army, who had gone out that day with the intention to shoot the first man he met, that he might be hung for it, in which he succeeded. The first happened to be Dr. Cadwalader, who so politely raised his hat to him that Bruleman was disarmed by the courtesy. In August, 1755, after Braddock's defeat, the regiments of Halket and Dunbar crossed the Schuylkill, and came down the street, mere shattered remnants, to find

in Philadelphia a welcome shelter. Dunbar proved anew the justice of his designation of "The Tardy," by not settling with his landlady; for the City Councils, two years afterwards, paid the Widow Howell her claim of twenty-five pounds for his board and lodging. Meanwhile the bones of the gallant Sir Peter Halket, of Pitfirrane, lay bleaching on the shores of the Monongahela, only to be accorded funeral rites when, in 1758, General Forbes, the "Head of Iron," as the Indians called him, proved successful where Braddock had failed, and gave to Fort Du Quesne the enduring name of one of England's greatest ministers. The army of Forbes was gathered in Philadelphia, and as his Royal Americans, under Bouquet, in their dark scarlet coats faced with blue, and the Highlanders in kilts and belted plaids, and the Pennsylvania Provincials in their fringed hunting shirts, passed westward up the street, to cross the river, and to sweep onward to victory, the scene must have gladdened the hearts so long made sad by the terrible defeat that had laid one-half of Pennsylvania open to the ravages of the relentless Indian foe. General Forbes returned in triumph, a short-lived triumph, however, for him, as a mortal disease, then wasting his form, soon terminated his life. He was buried in the chancel of Christ Church.

Passing on, we spoke of the time when Sir William Howe occupied the city, and of the 15th Regiment of the Royal Army being in quarters in Market Street in and about Fifth, and then of the post and rail fences, beginning, at the time when Philadelphia was the seat of the Federal Government, somewhere about Ninth Street; and of the feeble light of the old oil lamps, that hardly did more than make darkness visible. Feeble as their light was, the imagination seems to have been quite as much excited by the display, as in our time it can be by the more brilliant gaslights that now stretch for miles along the not wider, but vastly longer avenue. The novelist, of whom Philadelphia has such good reason to be proud, Charles Brockden Brown, in his Arthur Mervyn, a Tale of the Yellow Fever of 1793, brings his hero across the Upper Ferry, and then makes him say: "I adhered to the

crossways, till I reached Market Street. Night had fallen, and a triple row of lamps presented a spectacle enchanting and new. I reached the Market House, and entering it, indulged myself in new delight and new wonder. I need not remark that our ideas of magnificence and splendor are merely comparative; yet you may be prompted to smile when I tell you that, in walking through this avenue, I, for a moment, conceived myself transported to the hall 'pendant with many a row of starry lamps, and blazing cressets fed by naptha and asphaltos.' That this transition from my homely and quiet retreat had been effected in so few hours wore the aspect of miracle or magic."

When the war of the Revolution came, Market Street, no doubt, was often the theatre of striking scenes. Silas Deane writes to his wife on the 12th of May, 1775, "I seriously believe Pennsylvania will in one month, have more than twenty thousand disciplined troops ready to take the field. They exercise here twice every day, at five in the morning, and five in the afternoon, and are extremely well armed. . . . The Commons West of the city is every morning and afternoon full of troops and spectators of all ranks." Washington on his way to the ill-starred field of Brandywine, marched down Front Street to Chestnut, and thence out to "the common." From that place, the vicinity of Centre Square, he must have marched out this street, and crossed the Schuylkill at the Middle Ferry. Rochambeau's army of six thousand Frenchmen, in their beautiful uniform of white, though it passed out Vine Street, soon reached it, for they encamped at Centre Square, and, therefore, from that point, also marched along the western part of the street on their way to Yorktown. When the work of that army had been accomplished, the great procession in honor of the Federal Constitution passed the street westward from Fourth. Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, and his brothers, Montpensier and Beaujolais, when they started on their equestrian tour of the West, rode along it to cross the Meneyackse, or the "Noisy Stream" the Ganshow-hanné, as some call the river now named the Schuylkill. The old "Water Works" which were once at Centre Square

were erected not long after the imaginary walk of Arthur Mervyn. In his time, too, the direct road to Gray's Ferry, no doubt, began there, but that part of it between the Centre Square and South or Cedar Street, was afterwards foolishly offered up as a sacrifice to our inconvenient and inelegant system of rectangular streets. Long after the time of Arthur Mervyn, indeed but fifty years ago, Indians were still occasionally to be seen in the street, clad in the picturesque costume of the forest. On these later visits, as they were no longer provided with quarters at the State House, which was the custom when Burnaby, the English traveller, wrote, they paid their way by earning such pennies as we might be persuaded to set upright in the crevices between the bricks in the pavement, by shooting at them with their bows and arrows. Such as they hit became theirs, and very few, indeed, were missed. The Squaw took up the pennies, but she was never encumbered by the papoose, for that she would hang to the bough of a tree. Lingering, even after the children of the forest had ceased their visits, were yet to be met survivors of those exiles, who coming here had escaped the guillotine of France. With a politeness not less pleasing than the excellent confectionery and lemonade they vended along the street, they won the esteem of all who knew them. Another stranger, too, should be remembered. It is Krimmel, the artist, who, in 1818, painted the really striking scene of the Fourth of July of that year, of Centre Square, that hangs in our Hall.

Our distance from the river Delaware is now a little more than one mile. Near here, at Fifteenth Street, in quite recent times, stood the Western Exchange, the western terminus of the old omnibus route. About three-fourths of a mile further on we come to the Schuylkill. The passage over the river at this point is ancient. The proprietary "granted the Old Ferry to Philip England," of whom complaint is soon made, for in 1685 he was ordered to expedite a sufficient ferry boat. On the first of July, 1700, the Provincial Council "Ordered yt ye Secrie give notice to Benj. Chambers & —— powell, keepers of ye ferries over Schuilkill, yt they do not after Light is

shutt in, transport anie persons yt if not well known to you, or yt cannot give a good acco't of ymselves." In 1722, the City Council, having obtained authority therefor, from the Provincial Council, leased it for the term of twenty-one years to Aquila Rose, he to have a sufficient boat; and it was ordered that the street be at once laid out to the river. Rose was the poet, and the Clerk of the Assembly whose fine torch-light funeral, in 1723, is described in the verses of Samuel Keimer. In 1744 the lease of the ferry was to James Coultas, and afterwards, in 1755, to Evan Evans, and in 1756 to Joshua Byrne. In 1762 it was to Jonathan Humphries. James Coultas, in 1757, brings a charge of £12 against Council, for ferriage, in 1755, of Halket and Dunbar's regiments. In 1769 the Assembly appointed a committee to consider the matter of making the ferry free. The Council also appointed a committee on the subject, but it appears to have fallen through. In 1771 Joseph Coultas was the lessee.

It was at this ferry that one of the French officers who had joined the Revolutionary Army, Du Coudray, Inspector General of Ordnance, in attempting to cross the river, was drowned by his horse, on which he was mounted, leaping into the water just as they approached the western shore.

On the day of the battle of Germantown, October the 4th, three columns of Americans, with two field pieces, appeared on the western bank of the river, opposite this point, with the design to effect such a diversion as would prevent reinforcements being sent to the field of battle, but they came too late. A few shots were exchanged with some thirty English dragoons who were on the city side, and who at once sent for aid. The Continentals had one man wounded. The British works to protect the northern part of the city extended from Poplar Street wharf westward to the Schuylkill, where at Fair Mount, on the hill where the basin now is, was Redoubt No. 10. But the western approaches to the city were also to be guarded, and consequently the earthworks were extended southwardly from Fair Mount along the eastern side of the Schuylkill to a point south of the Middle Ferry, and this portion was protected by a redoubt, which, according to

Varlé's map, was at the intersection of 22d and Chestnut Streets. Major John Clark, Jr., who had been detailed by Washington to watch the operations of the English, wrote to his chief on the 3d of November, 1777, that "a refugee assured him they were preparing three bridges of boats with timber laid on them; and on the 8th that the enemy say their bridge will be complete by the following Tuesday." This was at the Middle Ferry, Market Street. Major Clark subsequently writes that it had draws in two places. Another of the bridges, as he writes, was at Gray's Ferry, also with a draw, and the third at Province Island. On the 18th "Five thousand of the enemy crossed from Philadelphia, at the Middle Ferry." On the 30th of December it was reported that as soon as they hauled their wood from the western side of the river, they would take up the bridge. This they, no doubt, did, for the only ordinary means of transit over the river until the end of the last century was a raft of logs, probably that made by General Putnam, moored to either side of the stream, and detached at one of its ends and floated up or down the current with the tide, to admit of the passage of such craft as challenged the right of way. It was kept in order, and its movements were regulated by a certain Joseph Ogden, and others who dwelt in what was known as the old Fish Tavern, near the northwest corner of Market and 30th Streets, still standing, and now occupied for offices of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. The canal around the western end of the bridge, hardly ever used, and now forgotten, passed by this house.

By 1801, however, trade had so increased in amount, that the city fathers determined to erect a more substantial structure, and during that year was built the well-known bridge styled "Permanent." The monument to its constructors, situated at the eastern end, is yet remembered. It now stands to the north, within the inclosure of the Gas Works. Mr. Joseph Swift Keen, the oldest living resident of West Philadelphia, whose memory recalls days when he attended worship at Christ Church with President Washington, witnessed the putting of the pieces together, on ground on the north

side of Market Street near the river, purchased by the municipal authorities as a site for a Yellow Fever Hospital, never erected for fear the farmers of neighboring counties might decline to pass it with their very indispensable provender. The timber for it was selected in adjoining forests with exquisite judgment, and gave evidence of its excellent quality under the ruthless blows of modern axes in the day of demolition. It was covered, and lay on arches of unequal height, causing an elevation in the middle. On the same piles and abutments, founded on rock most solidly at a time when coffer-dams were not so readily kept free of water as recent devices render possible, was built a second bridge, suited for car-travel, whose magnificent conflagration constituted the grandest *feu d'artifice* set off in our city during the Centennial season. And now stands the third, a wonder of twenty days' construction, to be accomplished only through mechanics of this decade, and the energetic will of such Presidents of railroad companies as he who ordered the framing of it. The importance of the first of these bridges may be very truly estimated by attending to Edmund Burke's pertinent statement in his European Settlements, in 1757. In speaking of the great wealth of Pennsylvania, he says: "Besides the quantity of all kinds of the produce of this Province, which is brought down the rivers Delaware and Schuylkill . . . the Dutch employ between eight and nine thousand wagons, drawn each by four horses, in bringing the product of their farms to this market." These wagons were large, but when the bridge came to be erected there soon appeared those huge structures, the Conestoga wagons, not inaptly called the Indiamen of the road. Gathering as they sometimes did, in hundreds along Market Street, they presented a scene to be found nowhere else on earth, unless, indeed, the assemblage of some vast caravan in Asia might be likened thereto. With their six and eight mammoth horses, surmounted with bells, these wagons were so imposing in their appearance, that, on their disuse, when the railroad and canal were built, an innkeeper in Somerset County told the writer of this, that "Philadelphia

was ruined. No railroad," said he, "can carry the freight the old Conestogas did."

We are now beyond the Schuylkill, and to the right is what once was Powelton. The ample mansion house erected by John Hare Powel had become the residence of the late E. Spencer Miller. Most of the western portion of the estate is covered with beautiful villas, while, however, much the greater part, even down to the water's edge, is used by the Pennsylvania Railroad for its vast business. Market Street, here formerly called Conestoga Road, in its course nearly due west, extends to the county line at 63d Street, a distance of about five and a half miles from the Delaware River. An account of the survey of that part of it west of the Schuylkill, may be found in the minutes of the Provincial Council, Nov. 23, 1741. It ought to be mentioned here, that extending along Market Street from 42d to 49th Street, and northwardly to the Haverford Avenue, are the grounds of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane. On this place is the house of Paul Busti, an Italian gentleman, who was agent of the Holland Land Company. His house is now occupied by Dr. Thomas S. Kirkbride. At 32d Street the Lancaster Turnpike leaves Market Street, trending rather northwardly, while the road to Darby leaves it obliquely, in a southwestwardly direction, which is continued with little deviation.

At the southeast corner of 32d and Market Streets stands the fine architectural monument of the season it commemorates, the new Centennial Bank. It replaces what was much the oldest house for miles around, an oddly-fashioned hip-roofed dwelling, in earlier days a home of farmers, and at the opening of this century a kindly hostelry. Ancient deeds speak of it as "The Mansion," and from that title was derived the first name of the street which passes by its former site. One other house in this vicinity is worthy of notice, that on the northeast corner of Mansion and Chestnut Streets, built in 1820 by an Englishman of eccentric tastes, lighted by Gothic windows, and adorned with parapetted roof in days of yore, from the dark shades of its coloring dubbed by neighbors "The Black Castle." For nearly fifty years it was

the residence of Mr. Keen, before referred to, who added to the garden an acre of ground, and planted it with flowers and fruit trees of domestic and foreign growth. But two witnesses of its earlier occupancy survive, one a noble English walnut tree now tending to decay, the other, still luxurious, a superb specimen of that kingly French pear, the St. Germain, imported for Mr. Keen by Colonel Carr, the successor of Bartram, and pronounced by connoisseurs to be the oldest and best of the variety in our land. At 34th and Locust Streets the imposing buildings of the University of Pennsylvania make their appearance. Its ample grounds, compared with its former contracted quarters, give room for the schools of art, of medicine, of law, and of mines, and also for the excellent hospital, so recently projected and well established. These grounds were the northern end of the Almshouse property, which now extends from the Darby Road to the Schuylkill, and southwardly to Woodlands Cemetery.

Inclosed by a high stone wall, and stretching for a great distance along the road to Darby, its eastern front washed by the Schuylkill, is that famous place the Woodlands. The first purchase of property here by the Hamiltons was about the year 1734. Later members of the family made subsequent purchases, and a part probably came from an intermarriage with a Till. The celebrated Andrew Hamilton, "Planter," who came from the Province of Maryland, and who soon rose to great eminence in the profession of the law, was a man of varied powers, and of fine taste, too, as may be judged from the fact that he furnished the designs, and entirely carried out the construction of the venerable, and even yet imposing building, the State House, thus rivalling that other amateur architect, Dr. Kearsley, who designed Christ Church. At one time Hamilton visited New York to defend, as he did with success, John Peter Zenger, in the libel case, so well known to every lawyer. He had offered to go "without fee or reward, under the weight of many years and great infirmities of body," to be the advocate of the great cause of civil liberty. Conceiving the same line of argument that Erskine adopted half a century afterwards, it can well be

understood how his successful conduct of this case at once obtained for him a celebrity that has never been lost, and earned for him such admiration on the part of the people of New York, that their public authorities voted him the freedom of the town in a gold box, still prized by his descendants. A graceful memoir of him was written by the late J. Francis Fisher. His portrait, a fine copy by Wertmuller, is among the treasures of the gallery of our Historical Society. James Hamilton, a son, was twice Governor of this Province under the Penns. A portrait of him, after West, in a rich court dress, also adorns our Hall. Another son, Andrew the second, who married Miss Till, was the father of William Hamilton of the Woodlands, which estate in the time of the latter included the Almshouse property, and extended far to the west of the Darby Road. The full extent reached to six hundred acres, all of which was to the south of Market Street, except that the northeastern corner, when near the river, bordered on Marshall's Road, which was seventy feet north of Market Street. The whole tract was north of the present line of Maylandsville. The country seat proper comprised the present Woodlands, extending no further down the river than to the present boundary, for Gray's property then included the land lying between Gray's Ferry Road and the cemetery. The fine mansion house, erected about the time of the Revolution, to replace the first one, yet stands, and is looked upon with interest by all who pass the place.

The Woodlands was one of the most noted seats in the Province. The entrance to it was by a gateway flanked by imposing lodges. Its ample grounds and beautiful gardens, abounding in rare and foreign trees, and luscious fruits and exquisite flowers, attracted the attention of the cultivated of all the Colonies and States, and never did such come to Philadelphia without a visit to it. A little prior to the Revolutionary War the property fell by inheritance to William Hamilton. This gentleman's brother Andrew, the third of the name, had some years previously married Miss Abigail Franks, a sister of the celebrated Miss Rebecca Franks, who once encountered General Charles Lee in a contest of wit, for

which she was not less distinguished than for her beauty. She married Lt.-Col. Henry Johnson, the British officer who was surprised by Wayne at Stony Point. She accompanied him on his return to England, where in time he inherited his father's estate and baronetcy, becoming also a General, and where they both lived until near 1830. General Winfield Scott, in his autobiography, gives an account of his visit to this lady. In the year 1781 it happened that Miss Rebecca Franks was in New York, and at Flat Bush, whence she wrote to her sister at the Woodlands a letter that never reached its destination, for it was intercepted, and fell into the hands of the American Commissary of Prisoners, Col. Thomas Bradford. The papers of this gentleman ultimately came into the possession of our Society, and were, for the first time, examined about the year 1855, when at last did this, the most sprightly and graphic letter of the era of the Revolution, see the light. In it she speaks of Mr. Hamilton's Thursday Parties at the Woodlands, and gives a striking picture of New York society.

During the years of Revolutionary trouble, William Hamilton led the agreeable life of a country gentleman at his hospitable mansion. He had served for a while in the army at the beginning of the war, opposing the unconstitutional acts of the Ministry, but when separation from the mother country was aimed at, he shrank from a step to which neither inclination nor ambition impelled him. He did not, however, escape the suspicion that his heart inclined to a government of which he had nothing to complain; or perhaps there were patriots who believed they could grace as well as he did so fine a property; and so, under the charge that he had held intercourse with officers of the invading army, he was tried on a charge of treason, but was acquitted. After the close of the war he made the tour of Europe, and he did so with the advantages of an easy manner, a good taste well cultivated, and a thorough knowledge of society. When in England, his full-length portrait on a canvas, containing also that of his niece, Miss Ann Hamilton, was executed by Benjamin West, and is one of the best of the productions of that artist. It attracts the

attention of all who visit the Hall of the Historical Society. The place Mr. Hamilton loved was not forgotten by him, for abroad he gathered for and sent to it rare plants and flowers. The Lombardy Poplar was one of the trees that he obtained, but it was only the male, that tall tapering tree that for so many years was so great a favorite in all the surrounding country. It seemed like a freak of poetic justice to bring it here, that it might sympathize with that other unfortunate, the Weeping Willow, of which, strangely enough, we have in this country only the female. Two noble specimens of the female Ginko, or Salisburia, a tree from Japan, undoubtedly the first introduced here, are to be seen, and also numerous specimens of the Magnolia, for which the place was especially noted. About twenty years ago there was another Ginko, but on the very night of the arrival in this city of the first Japanese Embassy, it was struck by lightning.

Near the city in which is situated the Society entrusted with Michaux's bequest, intended for fostering his favorite pursuit, and where his Sylva of North America has twice been published, and where, too, the valuable continuation by Nuttall, who long lived here, made its appearance, it was but natural there should have been an unusual fondness for arboriculture; and no doubt these scientific men were drawn hither by the fame that justly crowned the earnest labors of Bartram and Marshall, with both of whom Mr. Hamilton had frequent intercourse. Michaux, for a time, was in his service. A natural style of landscape gardening, that had then so recently been the product of a healthy English taste, found an apt pupil in Mr. Hamilton. The Woodlands, therefore, soon became noted as the best example of it that this country possessed, and it may almost be claimed that it had no superior in England. The lesson of the labor has not been lost, for when but a youth the late J. Francis Fisher was a frequent and cherished visitor at the Woodlands, and was so deeply impressed by the charming scenes presented there, that he became a devoted student of such effects. In his after years on the beautiful grounds of Alvethorpe, he consummated a collection of trees, displayed with a taste and judgment that can

nowhere be excelled. Others, too, have been lured to the same pursuit. Mr. Eli K. Price has brought about the Michaux Grove of Oaks, in the Park, to the northwest of Horticultural Hall, and on every Saturday in the season, Mr. Joseph T. Rothrock, Professor of Botany in the University of Pennsylvania, delivers a public lecture there. In connection with Mr. Fisher it ought also to be mentioned that his tastes led him, boy as he was, to appreciate in some degree the great value of the manuscripts stored at the Woodlands, but his modesty led him to shrink from accepting a gift of all of them. Those he did accept are of inestimable value in our early history, as may be judged from one that occupies a conspicuous place in our Hall—the original of the Instructions of Penn to his Commissioners for Settling the Colony in 1681.

The trees that adorned the Woodlands were not only fine specimens, but they were arranged with rare and skilful art as to the effects to be produced. Walks unexpectedly ended where, as one stood, the vision beyond was through a square or oval opening of leaves, that seemed a picture frame, so nicely were the boughs trimmed with the view to secure the charming vistas afforded by the beautiful Schuylkill. It was not alone in trees, however, that the place excelled. Professor Benjamin Smith Barton, of the University, by the courteous permission of the owner, would, after the winter lectures were ended, take his class there, as was long remembered by the late Dr. Samuel Jackson, who seventy years ago listened to his lectures on botany, illustrated by the exotics and other plants in the well-filled green-houses.

With the lapse of years all of the name of Hamilton passed away. The family, however, was represented among us through the female line by the late Mrs. Hartman Kuhn and Mrs. Henry Becket. It is yet remembered that the number of books at the Woodlands was large and of unusual excellence, while the numerous paintings were of remarkable beauty and of considerable value; Benjamin West aided in their selection. The fine furniture of the drawing rooms once adorned those of the unfortunate Marie Antoinette. Mirrors with frames of cut glass are not forgotten, nor still

other mirrors set in the doors of communicating rooms. The establishment was quite a full one; the grand coach had its four horses, and Riley, the English coachman, is yet held to have been, by those who have seen him, the grandest whip of his day. The requirements of the coach of state were not, however, at the expense of horses designed for other uses, for the stables were always filled. Nor was the train of servants more restricted in its numbers. Every household duty was well performed, yet there was no lack of a nice care that dependants should have every privilege consistent with their position, and the success in life of Pursh the florist, and of McArran, who were gardeners there, no less than that of the humble, but most worthy colored man, the late Stephen Purnell, present a striking evidence that perhaps the best possible education to be had is that acquired in the service of a competent master.

In 1804, Mr. Hamilton laid out on a goodly part of his estate the beautiful suburb of our city still called by residents of West Philadelphia Hamiltonville. In pursuance of Penn's design he disposed the streets at right angles to each other, and gave them names drawn from those of his family. Walnut Street continued he styled Andrew, Chestnut James, and the cross streets he called William, Mary, Margaretta, and Till. In a few years several houses were erected by French emigrants, who had come to our country to escape the perils of revolution which so sorely distracted their native land; and these were followed, presently, by citizens of Philadelphia desirous of the enjoyments of country homes. By provision of Mr. Hamilton ground was assigned for educational uses on the south side of Chestnut Street between Thirty-ninth and Fortieth, where a school-house was constructed when the need of it was felt, a building which served also as a village hall and a place of worship for divers sects. A similar lot, just back of this, on the north side of Walnut Street, was granted to Presbyterians, and a church edifice was erected by them at that spot. In 1824, through the zeal of three staunch churchmen, Messrs. Joseph S. Keen, Chandler Price, and Christian Wiltberger, all West Philadelphians, was built the

Protestant Episcopal church on Locust Street, named St. Mary's in conformity with Mr. Hamilton's request. Since then other churches and other schools, other homes and other halls have arisen where fifty years ago were field and forest, and to-day a very city of inhabitants reside on the estate of Hamilton. In the contemplation of such changes, wrought within remembrance, even of the comparatively youthful, let us pause in our endeavor to revive thoughts of the past. Let us once more enter the gates of Woodland, and avoiding the sad emblems which replace the tokens of gay life of former occupants, repose ourselves upon the sward overlooking the Schuylkill, awaiting the sunset, and planning a brisk renewal of our walk to Darby another day.

SULLIVAN'S EXPEDITION TO STATEN ISLAND IN 1777.

EXTRACT FROM THE DIARY OF CAPTAIN ANDREW LEE.

CONTRIBUTED BY STEWART PEARCE.

After the close of the Revolutionary War, Capt. Andrew Lee, from whose diary the following extract is taken, settled at Nanticoke, in the Wyoming Valley, six miles below Wilkes-Barré, Pennsylvania, where he died. In a letter from Lancaster, dated February 5, 1807, Judge John Joseph Henry thus wrote to Henry Dearborn, Secretary of War, regarding Captain Lee:—

Washington Lee, esq., the gentleman who makes the application, is the eldest son of Capt. Andrew Lee, who, according to my best remembrance, served in Hazen's regiment from its origin in the previous part of the war on the northern frontier. Our knowledge of each other happened in 1779. My military friends uniformly spoke of him (then, as now, I was disabled from service, and cannot, therefore, speak from my own knowledge) as an active and valiant officer. He was particularly useful, it was said, as a partisan in that species of warfare which you know at that time and in that quarter was necessary and peculiarly hazardous. Capt. A. Lee possessed a handsome estate in Pennsylvania. There was another Capt. Lee (I think William) of Hazen's regiment, a cousin of A. Lee, a native of Vermont or New York State, who did good service to our cause in instances which required shrewd address, and undaunted courage to execute. Men in a subaltern station, such as these gentlemen held, are not historically blazoned. Their merits live only in the memories of their compatriots. This family of the Lees, which is numerous and very extended, had their principal seats on the heads of the Susquehanna within Pennsylvania, and the Mohawk in New York State. A third Capt. Lee of this family known

to me at an early age, who in the course of the war, as subsequently informed, evinced much patriotic resolution, resided on the west branch of the Susquehanna some miles above Sunbury, the county town of Northumberland. He was named John, and was the uncle of Andrew. His dwelling was not very distant from a place formerly known as "Freeland's mills." The infamous and bloody incursion of Butler and Brandt at the head of a banditti, composed principally of Tories and Indians, in 1778, had not only wasted, but depopulated the charming district of Wyoming, the exterior settlement of the whites, but its effects extended down to Freeland's. Even the inhabitants of Sunbury, which was populous, panic struck, if they had the means, deserted their homes for the security of the interior. John Lee stood firm. Freeland's, known since as Freeland, fort was tolerably well stockaded. Here the dwellers of the vicinity, from various causes unable to fly, sought refuge. In the best of my recollection Freeland's fort was attacked and taken in the winter of 1779–80 by a horde of some hundreds of such as formed the mass which invaded Wyoming in the preceding year. On this occasion, however, it is said the party was commanded by a gentleman of humane feelings, clothed in British uniform, who did all that could be done with such troops to restrain their savage brutality, but in vain. There was something like an armistice and accord of protection. A despicable and indiscriminate plunder ensued, which was succeeded by a massacre of the aged and young men, women and children, as base and dastardly as that of Wyoming, though of less import as to numbers. Thence these savages proceeded to the house of Capt. John Lee. His money chest, which was not empty, was the primary object. The enemy, guided, it is likely, by the instructions of the —— or tory neighbors, on entering made directly for the apartment (through the midst of the family) where the chest lay without injury to any one. Marauding followed. Capt. John Lee, as the story goes, returning from his labor in the woods or fields, unawares was shot down near the house. Two of his sons, beardless boys, were slaughtered at the threshold. His wife, an amiable

woman, with a suckling in her arms, and four other children were led away captives. Two miles from the house the babe's brains were dashed against a tree, the tears and wailings of Mrs. Lee for her infant, in that or the next day, caused a silence to her grief the application of the barbarous hatchet. The survivors of this miserable and forlorn family (two girls and two boys, none of them above twelve years old), were held in Indian bondage till 1784-85. The two latter, Robert and Thomas, I have been informed have of late years been honored by the general government with military command. The particulars of this story, which are numerous, very pathetic, and interesting, derived to me from Rebecca, one of the children. My father, when a delegate to Congress, in 1784–5 (I cannot recollect date exactly), coming homeward from New York to Lancaster, found the returning captive desolate, unfriended, and moneyless. He brought her to his own house, and the kindness of my blessed mother in a few months restored her to society, and her relations. I am fearful this hint may convey to you an idea disadvantageous to the father of my young friend. It should not, though in those hard times the charges of travelling were exorbitant, and money not easily obtained, that benevolent and kind-hearted man, Capt. A. Lee, made three journeys into the country of the Senecas, &c., in search of his uncle's children. The first journey produced the recovery of Rebecca (my informant), whom he brought to Albany, clothed her, and furnished her with money, perhaps from the paucity of his own funds, too scantily to travel to the Susquehanna. He retrode his way from Albany, and by a considerable ransom redeemed another of the children. A third voyage throughout the extent of the Mohawk River, Oneida, Ontario, and Erie Lakes, in pursuit of the wandering owner of the captives, at a great charge, obtained a third of these orphans. Thomas, the youngest and last, came in a few years later.

Extract from Diary of Captain Andrew Lee.

On the 21st of August, 1777, Gen. Sullivan at the head of a detachment of about 1000 men of his division marched

from his encampment near Morristown at 2 o'clock p. m., and crossed the —— river over to Staten Island, by sunrise on the 22d inst. at Decker's ferry, and dividing his corps into two brigades, one under the command of Brig.-Gen. Smallwood, the other commanded by Brig.-Gen. De Borre headed by himself, that detachment under Smallwood he ordered to suppress and take Gen. Skinner in his quarters on the upper end of the island, but the guide deceiving them they did not succeed in their main design. Nevertheless, they took several prisoners, and some valuable stores, and it is said his military chest. That part of the army commanded by De Borre, after marching two miles up into the island, filed off to the right, and proceeded down to the New Blazing Star [ferry], where they surprised and took Col. Bartin, with some other prisoners of the new corps, who made no stand after discharging their pieces, but took to their heels and ran into the marshes, where many of them concealed themselves. Whilst this business was performing, Gen. Smallwood bent his course downwards, and passing De Borre took to the forks of the road, and passed him in the rear, and proceeded down through Richmond to the Old Blazing Star [ferry] in order to repass the river, leaving many of his men behind, who were incapable by fatigue to keep up, many of whom afterwards fell into the hands of the enemy. Maj. Powell, who was in the rear, Capt. Herrin, Lieut. Campbell, Lieut. Anderson, Ensign Hall, and Mr. Hall, a sergeant major, being in a house, were surprised by the enemy and made prisoners, except Powell, who was slain. Lieut. Campbell wounded and lost his arm. Gen. Sullivan, having given the necessary orders respecting the removal of the boats from Decker's ferry down to the Old Blazing Star, resolved immediately to follow the first division of his army to that place, and embark the troops on board of the boats which he expected to meet him in consequence of his orders to that effect. But some accident happening the boats they did not arrive, and he was obliged to wait the tedious opportunity of three boats which lay at the ferry for the crossing of both divisions. This delay he justly apprehended would be attended with ill consequences, as he had received information of the enemy

being in motion, and would undoubtedly harass his rear. He, therefore, ordered a picket of 100 men taken from the rear, commanded by Maj. Tillard, and Capt. Carlisle and myself to secure the boats and cover the embarkation of the troops. About 5 o'clock p. m. the troops being nearly all over except our picket, a wagon was ordered back to take any of the men that might be still on the road, with directions to proceed as far back as Richmond. But before he had gone half a mile he espied the van of the English army in full march. I immediately returned and informed Captain Carlisle, upon which he formed the picket as quick as possible to form troops as much fatigued as they were, they having marched 30 miles without any refreshment. In the mean time Maj. Tillard went forward in order to view the number of the enemy, and finding them to exceed ours ran to the place of embarkation, in order to stop the boats which were just then leaving the shore. Col. Smith, who was in one of them, did not think proper to reland, upon which Maj. Tillard applied to Maj. Stewart to know if he would support the picket with what force of his remained on shore. But not receiving any answer from him he returned to the picket which he [had ?] represented to Maj. Stewart must unavoidably be cut off by superior numbers, without his assistance. On his arrival he found the picket disposed in a manner he did not think proper to alter. The enemy immediately heaving in sight the firing began, but the ground not favoring our small party, we were compelled to retreat in disorder, as the enemy had outstretched us on the right, and must have surrounded us had we kept our position. On our right we fell in with Maj. Stewart, who had, without giving Maj. Tillard notice, formed his party in our rear, upon which Maj. Tillard endeavoring to collect our men again, many of which had made their escape, but the firing now began from Stewart's party, who also retreating before superior numbers precipitately fell in with the remainder of the picket, which was collected and forming on an eminence having a small valley in our front. Here Maj. Stewart having formed his men on our right made a line of about 200 yards, with a three-rail fence before us.

The fire now began general from left to right, at the distance of about 90 yards, for the space of half an hour, in the course of which time the enemy were more than once broke. They endeavored continually to force our front, but finding it impossible, they extended their lines beyond our right, and doubling in at the same time pressing on in front with two pieces of artillery forced us from our fence, and finding it impossible to hold out against five times our numbers with the advantage of artillery, it was thought advisable to surrender. Our loss in killed was incredible, not exceeding five men. That of the enemy uncertain to me, but was informed by one of their officers that they had killed and wounded about 20, among whom Lieut.-Col. Durgan and Maj. Barren were slain. The enemy acknowledged we made a brave defence, and were surprised at the smallness of our party when they saw us come in. Our number taken in action, and on the road that had not come up through fatigue was about 260, of whom 22 were officers. Our usage was rather cruel than otherwise from this to the 28th inst., having never eaten but four times in seven days, and lodging two nights in the open field, without blankets or the least kind of shelter from the weather. On Saturday the 23d, we were delivered to the Hanspac [Anspach ?] guard, the officers of whom behaved with the utmost politeness to us, and showed a tenderness which the British seemed strangers to. On Sunday we were put on board a ship and transported to New York, where we were landed the next morning, and conducted to the city hall through a multitude of insulting spectators. We remained in this place until the 28th inst., when we removed to Frankfort Street on parol, with the liberty of said street being 200 yards in length. Here we continued upon two-thirds allowance until the 4th Nov., when we were removed to Long Island to flatlands, upon condition that we would pay our board. Nothing material happened until the 27th Nov., when the appearance of part of the American Army on Staten Island caused such fears in the General commanding New York as to determine him for our better safety to remove us on board a ship. Accordingly two transports being ready, we were the next day put on

board under guard, being in numbers about 255. Here we expected a greater hardship than we had yet undergone, having a scant allowance of provisions, and badly cooked as reasonably may be supposed for the want of materials to do it with, there being but one fire and one kettle to a ship, which being fixed on the deck, rendered it very difficult to cook at all. On Wednesday, which happened very often at this season of the year, on account of bannard days,[1] as they term it, we drew musty oaten meal. When we could spare time from the cittel, we used to pass the evenings in walking the deck, and playing a game at whist, and sometimes with dancing on the quarter deck, as some of the gentlemen were performers on the violin. Our evenings were generally ended in singing, which always began upon blowing out the light, immediately after turning into our berths. Our situation here was truly pitiable on many accounts, but more especially of provisions, which being altogether salt, without any kind of vegetables, must infallibly have brought on sickness and disorder had we stayed long on board. But the General's fears in regard to the prisoners having subsided, on the twelfth day of our confinement he issued orders that we should return to Long Island, and accordingly on the 10th Dec. we relanded at Brooklyn. During our confinement, Cols. Rollins, Livingston, and Maj. Stewart[2] found means to elude the vigilance of the guard, and make their escape in a boat from alongside the ship Martel.

[1] Banyan days; those on which no meat is issued to sailors.—*Grose's Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue.*

[2] Major Jack Stewart, of Maryland; an account of his escape will be found in *Graydon's Memoirs*, page 314, Phila. 1846.

ELIPHALET DYER.

BY. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL.

(Centennial Collection.)

Eliphalet Dyer, first-named of the three delegates sent by Connecticut to the Congress of 1774, was born in Windham, Sept. 14, 1721 (O. S.). His father, Thomas Dyer, a native of Weymouth, Mass., settled at Windham about 1715, married Lydia, daughter of John Backus, gathered a good estate, was a deputy to the General Assembly in several sessions, and major of a Windham County regiment. His only son, Eliphalet, was sent to Yale College, graduated in 1740, studied law, and began practice in his native town. In 1745 (May 9th), he married Miss Huldah Bowen, one of the daughters of Col. Jabez Bowen, of Providence, R. I.

He was chosen deputy to the General Assembly in May, 1747, and again in 1752; but his real entry to public life was through his connection with the project of establishing a Connecticut Colony in the valley of the Susquehanna. Mr. Dyer was an active and influential promoter of this enterprise, an original member of the Susquehanna Company formed in 1753, one of the committee to purchase the Indian title to the lands selected for the proposed colony, at Wyoming, and one of the Company's agents to petition the General Assembly, in 1755, for permission to settle on these lands, which were then believed to be within the chartered limits of Connecticut. The operations of the Susquehanna Company were interrupted by the war with France. In August, 1755, Mr. Dyer was appointed lieutenant-colonel of one of the regiments sent by Connecticut to assist in the reduction of Crown Point, and in 1758 he was made colonel of a regiment in the expedition against Canada. In 1759 and 1760, he was a member of the General Assembly, and in 1762 was elected an Assistant (or member of the Upper House), and was continued in that office, by annual re-election, until 1784.

In 1763, Colonel Dyer went to England as the agent of the Susquehanna Company, to solicit from the Crown a confirmation of their title to the tract purchased of the Indians at Wyoming, and permission to settle a colony there. The application was resisted by Pennsylvania, and was still pending when war broke out between Great Britain and her American Colonies.

In September, 1765, he was appointed one (the first named) of the delegates from Connecticut to the "Stamp Act Congress" at New York—"the first great step towards Independence." A few days after the dissolution of this Congress, Col. Dyer was present at a meeting of the Connecticut Council in Hartford, called by Governor Fitch, Nov. 1st, to administer to him the oath required of all colonial governors, to enforce the Stamp Act. After a long debate, Jonathan Trumbull, refusing to witness a ceremony which he regarded as a surrender of the liberty of the Colonies, withdrew from the Council chamber. Colonel Dyer accompanied or promptly followed him, and with them went a majority—all but four—of the Board of Assistants. "I immediately arose, took my hat, and declared openly and publicly," wrote Col. Dyer to a friend, "that the oath about to be administered was in my opinion directly contrary to the oath the Governor and Council had before taken to *maintain the rights and privileges of the people.* It was an oath I myself could not take, neither could I be present aiding and assisting therein." At the next election, in May, 1766, the votes of the freemen manifested their approval of the course taken by the withdrawers. Governor Fitch and the four Assistants who remained to administer the Stamp-Act oath were left out of office.

Through the ten years' struggle against the exactions of Great Britain, to the actual outbreak of revolution, Colonel Dyer never wavered in his devotion to the popular cause. When the Connecticut Committee of Correspondence met at New London, July 13, 1774, authorized by the General Assembly to appoint delegates to the Congress at Philadelphia, their first choice fell upon Colonel Dyer, and he unhesitatingly accepted the appointment. He was present at the

opening of the Congress, Sept. 5th, and was a member of the Committee on the Rights of the Colonies, appointed on the 7th of September. He was re-elected to the Congress of 1775, and to each succeeding Congress till 1783, except those of 1776 and 1779.

In the spring of 1775, he was named one of the "Council of Safety," to assist the Governor in the management of all public affairs, when the General Assembly was not in session; and the Journals of this body show that he was continually employed in arduous duties, and in the discharge of important trusts. He had been appointed a judge of the superior court in 1766, and retained his seat on the bench until 1793, becoming Chief Judge in 1789. In 1787, Yale College conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

He appeared as one of the agents for Connecticut, before the Court of Commissioners appointed by Congress to finally determine the controversy with Pennsylvania respecting the Susquehanna lands, at the hearing in Trenton, in November, 1782.

After his resignation of the office of Chief Judge, he retired from public life. He died at Windham, May 13, 1807, ætatis 86.

Connecticut had no delegate in the Colonial Congress who surpassed Col. Dyer in zeal and devotion, in early comprehension of the magnitude of the issue involved in the controversy between Great Britain and her Colonies, or in unflinching determination to accept the issue, at all hazards, sooner than to submit to any infringement of the political rights of freemen. His judgment was sound and discriminating, and his integrity was so far beyond question that he retained, through more than half a century of public life, the unbounded confidence of his fellow-citizens. Even John Adams—chary as he was of praise—commended Col. Dyer as "an honest, worthy man," one who "means and judges well"—though, naturally, Mr. Adams thought he spoke in Congress "too frequently and too long." A few brief notes of one of his speeches, when the non-importation resolves were under discussion, in September, 1774, are preserved in

Adams's diary. They do not give the impression of a "long-winded and round-about speaker." "They have now drawn the sword," said Colonel Dyer, "in order to execute their plan of subduing America; and I imagine they will not sheath it, but that next summer will decide the fate of America . . . . We are struggling for the liberties of the West Indies and of the people of Great Britain, as well as our own—and, perhaps, of Europe!"

EDMUND PENDLETON OF VIRGINIA.

BY DAVID H. STROTHER (PORTE CRAYON).

(Centennial Collection.)

Edmund Pendleton was born in Caroline County, Virginia, in 1721. His father dying before the son's birth, left the family in comparative poverty, so that in his earlier years, the boy had little opportunity for schooling, or instruction of any kind. At the age of fourteen he was placed in the office of Benjamin Robinson, clerk of Caroline County, a most efficient training school for a youth looking forward to the profession of the law.

Young Pendleton made the best use of the opportunities thus afforded, applying himself diligently to the business in hand, and at the same time, by working outside of his regular clerical duties, obtained the means of purchasing books, which enabled him to supply, in a measure, his lack of general education.

At the age of twenty-one he was duly licensed to practise law in the courts, and pursued his professional career with flattering success, and increasing reputation until these courts were closed by the coming storm of revolution in 1774. He had been elected to the House of Burgesses in 1752, and continued to serve in that body until it also became extinct.

Pendleton's views on the great question which then agi-

tated men's minds have come down to us in his own handwriting.

"When the dispute with Great Britain began, a redress of grievances, and not a Revolution of Government, was my wish."

The moderation of his views, and the unequalled ability with which he defended them against such assailants as Lee, Jefferson, and Henry, drew around him those of all shades of opinion opposed to the Revolution, and while uninfluenced by their peculiar personal interests, and entirely superior to the prejudices of their caste, he soon became the recognized leader of the cavalier, or conservative party of that period.

Although the conflict of opinion between men of commanding abilities and strong convictions was necessarily sharp, earnest, and exciting, yet the greatness of the occasion, with the sincere and lofty patriotism common to all the leading contestants, prevented these disputes from ever degenerating into personal rancor or unfriendliness. With all the leaders of the Revolutionary party Pendleton ever lived in mutual respect and lifelong friendship, while Jefferson, in his memoirs (vol. i. p. 30), says of him, "taken all in all, he was the ablest man in debate I ever met with."

But when the momentous question was at length decided, and the time for discussion past, pride of opinion readily yielded to a sense of patriotic duty, and his recent opponents in debate paid the highest tribute to his great character by calling him to fill the most arduous and responsible positions in the Revolutionary Government. Thereafter we find him sustaining the cause (now that of his people and his country) with a devotion surpassed by none of those who had from the beginning been most zealous for separation from the Mother Country.

By resolution of the Virginia Convention he was made Chairman of the Committee of Safety, virtually the legislative, judicial, and executive head of the Colony, in the crisis of its stormy transition from dependent vassalage to untried freedom. He was elected to the General Congress in 1774, and again in 1775, but was prevented by indisposition from

attending the latter session. He was President of the Convention of December, 1775, and also that of May, 1776, and author of the resolutions which instructed its Representatives in Congress to declare for "Independence."

He was the intimate friend of Washington, who tendered him high judicial and political position in the Federal Government, all of which he modestly but firmly declined. He was President of the Virginia Convention of 1788, which met to deliberate on the new Federal Constitution, and ably advocated its adoption. He was for a quarter of a century the Presiding Judge of the Virginia Court of Appeals, and died in that office on the 28th of October, 1803, in the eighty-third year of his age.

In person, Edmund Pendleton was eminently handsome, graceful, and prepossessing, with manners so fascinating as to win all who came within their influence, and these natural advantages doubtless served to enhance the value of his high mental and moral qualities. He was twice married, but died childless, leaving his good works and spotless name to the gratitude and admiration of posterity.

HENRY MIDDLETON.

PRESIDENT OF THE FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

BY CONSTANCE FENIMORE WOOLSON.

(Centennial Collection.)

Henry Middleton, of South Carolina, was one of three sons of Arthur Middleton, who, in 1719, headed the revolution against the Lords Proprietors. The eldest son, William, went to England to take possession of the family estate of "Crowfield," in Suffolk, and his descendant, Sir George Broke Middleton, admiral in the royal navy, has now in his possession at Shrubland Park, Suffolk, a portrait of Henry Middleton, the subject of this sketch. Thomas Middleton, the

youngest son, commanded the provincial forces sent against the Indians, in conjunction with the royal troops under Colonel Grant. His daughter and heiress married Major Pierce Butler of the British army, who left descendants well known and distinguished in Philadelphia.

Henry Middleton was born in 1717, and, according to the custom of South Carolina families of distinction, was educated in England. On his return, and while still a very young man, he entered actively into public life, receiving the appointment of Justice of the Peace at the age of twenty-two years. In 1748 he was elected to the Commons House of Assembly for St. George's, Dorchester; in 1754 he was Speaker of the Lower House; in 1756 he found himself appointed a member of His Majesty's Council for the Province of South Carolina; and, in 1770, he declined to continue longer of the Council. In July, 1774, he was elected a delegate to the General Congress of the Provinces, the first Continental Congress, which met in Philadelphia in September. Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, was unanimously chosen President, but upon the 22d of October, being unable to attend to the duties of the office, Henry Middleton was chosen his successor, and as President, signed the "Petition of Grievances." In January, 1775, he was a member of the Provincial Congress of South Carolina, and, nine days later, was elected a delegate to the second Continental Congress. In September, 1775, he was elected to the South Carolina Congress, and, in February, 1776, was President of the Provincial Congress of South Carolina. The last public office he held, at the age of sixty, was that of member of the South Carolina Council of Safety.

During the long period of his public career, he was regarded on all sides as a man of singular probity and sound judgment, ever to be relied upon in times of trouble, and firmly attached to his country, in whose behalf he readily hazarded his life and fortune. As an instance of the confidence in his integrity, it may be mentioned that he was the first man in the Colony to issue paper promises to pay, which were generally accepted as currency.

Henry Middleton occupied himself, during his intervals of leisure, in laying out, with the aid of a Dutch gardener whom he had brought from Holland for that purpose, the walks and terraces of "Middleton Place" on the Ashley River, in the neighborhood of Charleston. The first camellias introduced into America were planted here. It was here, also, that he began the education of his son Arthur, the future signer of the Declaration of Independence; he sent to England for a tutor, and young John Rutledge, afterwards called "the Dictator," came over to Middleton Place to share the lessons with Arthur. John Rutledge's brother Edward, six years his junior, affixed his signature to the Declaration of Independence, in 1776, by the side of the name of Arthur Middleton.

Henry Middleton was married three times. His last wife was Lady Mary, widow of John Anislie, and daughter of the Earl of Cromartie. Concerning this marriage the following story has been handed down: Lady Mary at first refused Mr. Middleton, but yielded finally to the intercession of his children, who are said to have gone to her in a body, and urged her to reconsider her decision, because they felt sure he would marry somebody, and they thought she would be a safe stepmother. Lady Mary Middleton survived her husband four years; there is a tablet to her memory in the old Scotch Church in Charleston.

The last years of Henry Middleton's life were full of physical suffering. Hence it was that Dr. Duché, in his letter conjuring Washington to abandon the contest with Great Britain, says, among other things, "the elder Middleton has retired from the contest." One of those fearful maladies that strike at the springs of life, while the heart is still warm, and the brain clear, constrained Mr. Middleton to ask permission from Cornwallis to retire to his plantation. This was in 1780, after the fall of Charleston. This has been the cause of a mistaken report that Henry Middleton took protection. The South Carolina patriot never took protection. General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, the friend of Washington, emphatically assured the Honorable John I. Middleton, that his grandfather,

Henry Middleton, never took protection; and the British were so far from considering him as protected from their attacks, that in 1782, an expedition, which was fitted out to make a raid through Prince Williams County, burned and pillaged much of his property, which was in various localities in the neighborhood. It was during this raid that the famous John Laurens met his death.

Henry Middleton died on the 13th of June, 1784, aged sixty-seven years, at Middleton Place on the Ashley, and was buried in the family vault.

JOSIAH QUINCY, SENIOR.

BY ELIZA SUSAN QUINCY.

(Centennial Collection.)

Josiah Quincy, Senior, was born in Braintree, Massachusetts Bay, 1709, in the house of his great-grandfather, Edmund Quincy, of England, yet standing on the estate purchased in 1635 of the Sachem of Mos-Wechusett. He derived his Christian name from his maternal grandfather, the Rev. Josiah Flynt, of Dorchester, Massachusetts Bay (H. C. 1644). His father, Edmund Quincy (H. C. 1699), held the commission of a Judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts Bay for nineteen years, from 1718 until his appointment as agent for the Colony at the Court of Great Britain, 1737.

Josiah Quincy graduated at Harvard College 1728, and in 1733 married Hannah Sturgis, of Yarmouth, Massachusetts Bay. He removed from Braintree to Boston in 1735, and engaged in commerce and shipbuilding, and the firm of Edmund & Josiah Quincy, & Edward Jackson soon ranked high among the enterprising merchants of New England. In December, 1735, he accompanied his father, Judge Quincy, to

England.[1] In 1738 he travelled in Europe, and established correspondences in Paris and Cadiz, in Amsterdam with the Messrs. Hope, in England with Slingsby Bethel[2] (Lord Mayor 1756). He revisited Europe in 1740 and 1742, and in 1748, in Paris, applied for a contract to supply the French Government at Louisburg when it should be restored to them. Count Maurepas, who gave him an audience, favored his proposals. In London he solicited a contract to supply the English Government, for their intended settlement at Cape Sable.

In 1748 the ship Bethel, named by Mr. Quincy's firm after their English partner, was sent on a voyage to the Mediterranean, taking for protection against Spanish privateers 14 guns, and a letter of marque. Encountering in the Atlantic, at night-fall, a large ship under Spanish colors, her Captain, in self-defence, displayed lanterns in the rigging, made his ship appear full of men by disposing hats and cloaks on sticks, bore down on the Spaniard, and ordered him to surrender. The Captain of the Jesu Maria & Joseph, with 117 men and 26 guns, mistaking the Bethel for an English sloop of war, struck his colors, and surrendered a register ship, with 161 chests of silver, and two of gold registered, and a most valuable cargo, to a vessel carrying 14 guns, and 37 men. The rage of the Spaniard and his crew, on discovering the stratagem to which they were victims, was great but unavailing. The prize was duly condemned, and brought safely to Boston, and the proceeds, upwards of $300,000, were divided among the owners of the Bethel. Soon after this unexpected success Mr. Quincy dissolved this partnership, retired to Braintree,

[1] Judge Edmund Quincy died in London, February 23, 1738. A tribute to his virtues and public services, from the Legislature of Massachusetts Bay, thus closes: "He departed the delight of his own people, but of none more than the Senate, who, as a testimony of their love and gratitude, have ordered this Epitaph to be inscribed on the Monument, erected over his grave, in Bunhill Fields, London, at the expense of the Colony." The General Court of the Colony, also gave to his heirs one thousand acres of land in the town of Lenox, Massachusetts Bay.

[2] Ancestor of the late Lord Westbury, Lord Chancellor of England.

formed another firm, and established spermaceti works, and the first manufacture of glass ever set up in America.

In February, 1755, Mr. Quincy was commissioned by Gov. Shirley[1] to solicit the Government of Pennsylvania to join their forces with those of Massachusetts Bay, in an expedition to erect a strong fortress, upon His Majesty's lands, near the French Fort at Crown Point. On arriving in Philadelphia, Mr. Quincy applied to his friend, Dr. Franklin, then a Member of the Pennsylvania Assembly, for aid, and by his advice and assistance presented a memorial to the Assembly, in the State House, Philadelphia, on the 31st of March, 1755, urging the importance of his mission. "After some debate, the Assembly voted to raise £10,000, on the credit of the Province, to answer the request of the Massachusetts Government, so earnestly enforced by Mr. Quincy, who, after a handsome acknowledgment in behalf of Massachusetts, returned to Boston, highly gratified by the success of his mission."[2] This transaction exerted an important influence over the affairs of the Colonies. By promoting mutual interest, respect, and confidence between Pennsylvania and Massachusetts Bay, a union was formed, which remained firm, through the conflicts of the Revolution, and finally ensured their Independence.

Mrs. Hannah Sturgis Quincy died in August, 1755, leaving three sons, all eminent men and graduates of Harvard, and one daughter. Mr. Quincy subsequently married Elizabeth Waldron, daughter of the Rev. William Waldron, of Boston, who died in 1759, leaving one daughter. In 1761, Mr. Quincy married Ann Marsh, daughter of the Rev. Mr. Marsh, of Braintree; an intimate friend of Mrs. Abigail Adams, and a woman of uncommon excellence and animation, and energy of character, who proved a most valvable companion during the remainder of his life.

During his residence in Braintree, Mr. Quincy was chiefly

[1] This commission, with the autograph signature of Governor Shirley, dated February 22, 1755, in 1876 is in the possession of the author of this sketch.

[2] Sparks's Franklin, vol. i. pp. 181–2; vol. iii. pp. 235–238.

employed in civil and military affairs. Commissioned by Governor Bernard[1] in 1762 Colonel of the Suffolk Regiment, his friend, John Adams, often described his splendid appearance as an officer, the elegance of his dress and appointments, and his graceful and polished manners.

In 1768, Mr. Quincy's eldest son, Edmund, died at sea, on his return from the West Indies. A graduate of Harvard in 1752, a man of fine talents, a leading Whig, and a political writer, he would have been a powerful advocate for the liberty of the Colonies had his life been prolonged. Samuel Quincy (H. C. 1754), the second son of Colonel Quincy, became an eminent lawyer, and held the office of Solicitor-General under the crown. He left Boston with other loyalists, went to England, from thence to Antigua, was appointed attorney-general, and never returned to his native land.

After the loss of two houses by fire, in Braintree, in 1770 he erected, on an estate he inherited, bounding on Boston Harbor, a mansion where he resided the rest of his life. There he was visited by Franklin and Adams, and corresponded with them, and with Bowdoin. In 1775 he endured the loss of his youngest son, Josiah Quincy, Jr., whose patriotic eloquence and exertions caused his death at the age of 31 years. Colonel Quincy bequeathed to his grandson, Josiah Quincy, the only surviving child of his youngest son, the estate of several hundred acres on which he resided, and his mansion house, justly regarding him as the future supporter of his name and his principles. In a letter to him at school, at the age of 10 years, he tells him that "it is indispensably requisite to the forming a distinguished character in public life, that Truth should be the invariable object of your pursuit, and your end the public good." To these maxims his grandson adhered through forty years of public service, as Mayor of Boston, President of Harvard University, and many other offices. The estate he inherited became his summer residence, and he died in the house, and the apartment of his grandfather, July 1, 1864, at the age of 93 years.

[1] This commission, signed by Governor Bernard, also remains (1876) in the possession of the writer.

During the siege of Boston, Colonel Quincy gave notice to General Washington of the movements of the British fleet, which he watched from his window, commanding a view of the harbor down to Point Alderton. He had the happiness to record on one of its panes, "October 10, 1775, Governor Gage sailed for England with a fair wind."

On the 20th of March, 1776, he wrote to congratulate Washington on the evacuation of Boston, and continued to correspond with him until 1780, and with Franklin till 1783. Several Essays designed for publication on "Taxation," "Paper Money," and other financial topics, written in 1780–1783, remain among his manuscripts.

After a short illness Mr. Quincy died at the age of seventy-five years, at his residence in Braintree, March 3, 1784. Having lived through an important historical period, and witnessed the American Revolution, he survived to see the Independence of the Colonies firmly established, and left his descendants the free citizens of a Great Republic.

CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN.

BY GEORGE STILLMAN HILLARD.

(Centennial Collection.)

Christopher Gadsden was born in Charleston in the year 1724. He was the son of Thomas Gadsden, a lieutenant in the British Navy, and Collector of the Port of Charleston under the royal government. Like many of the sons of wealthy Carolinans, he was sent to England for his education. He returned home in his seventeenth year, and being destined to a commercial career, he was sent to Philadelphia, and placed in a counting room there. After a second visit to England, he engaged in mercantile business in Charleston, to which he afterwards added the occupation of a planter. Uniting energy and enterprise to a sound judgment, he was early

successful, and was able from his own resources to purchase back an estate which his father had lost. He was one of the earliest and most uncompromising of South Carolinans in opposition to British oppression, and in resistance to the Stamp Act. As the Revolution advanced, he became one of the most conspicuous leaders in the State, both in civil and military affairs. He warmly promoted the project of a General Congress before the popular branch of the legislature of South Carolina, and was chosen delegate to the Stamp Act Congress in New York in 1765. His talents for public speaking were but moderate, but he soon acquired commanding influence in that body from his sound judgment, and his ardent and enlightened zeal for liberty. When the British Government renewed their scheme for a revenue in 1769, he was one of the firmest supporters of the plan for a suspension of all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, though such a measure was peculiarly injurious to his own interest. He was a delegate to the first Continental Congress in 1774, in which he urged an attack on General Gage in Boston. In June, 1775, when the Provincial Congress had determined to raise troops, Mr. Gadsden, though absent on public duty in Philadelphia, was, without his knowledge, elected Colonel of the first regiment of South Carolina. He left Congress, and repaired to the camp, declaring, that "Wherever his country placed him, whether in the civil or military department, and if in the latter, whether as Corporal or Colonel, he would cheerfully serve to the utmost of his ability." He was made Brigadier-General the next year by Congress. Though not educated as a soldier, such was the confidence inspired by his character that he was placed at the head of the military establishment of the State. He commanded at Fort Johnson, when the Fort on Sullivan's Island was attacked by the British. He was actively engaged at the siege of Charleston in 1776, was one of the framers of the Constitution of South Carolina, adopted in 1778, resigned his military commission 1779, and as Lieut.-Governor of the State signed the capitulation when Charleston was taken by Sir Henry Clinton in 1780. On the defeat of Gates in August, 1780, he, with several other of his

countrymen, was sent by the British authorities to St. Augustine, then a British garrison. He alone of the prisoners refused to enter into any engagements by which a partial freedom might be secured, and was, therefore, imprisoned for ten months. One of his biographers says: "Mr. Gadsden improved his solitude by close application to study, and came out much more learned than he entered." Being exchanged, he was sent to Philadelphia, and there released. He hastened back to Carolina, and was elected a member of the Assembly which met at Jacksonburgh in 1782. He was chosen Governor, but declined on account of age and infirmity, but he continued his services in the Assembly and Council. In spite of the great personal losses the war had occasioned, and of his imprisonment in St. Augustine, he had the magnanimity to oppose the law which was proposed for confiscating the estates of the Tories, and earnestly contended for the policy of oblivion of the past, and forgiveness of all wrongs. He was an influential member of the Convention which ratified the National Constitution in 1788, and of that which revised the State Constitution in 1790. He died in his 82d year. He had a sound constitution, and always enjoyed vigorous health, and his death was occasioned more by an accidental fall than from disease or natural decay. He was a friend and correspondent of Samuel Adams, whose character in many respects resembled his own. He was a man of religious principles, and a zealous, though not bigoted, member of the Episcopal Church. He was remarkable for his disinterestedness in money matters, declining all offices of profit, and refusing to take the salaries of such trusts as were conferred upon him. Dr. Ramsay closes a biographical sketch of him as follows: "His character was impressed with the hardihood of antiquity, and he possessed an erect, firm, and intrepid mind, which was well calculated for buffeting with revolutionary storms." In a letter dated Charleston, December 2, 1765, addressed to Charles Garth, agent of the Colony of South Carolina, he says: "I wish that the Charters being different in different Colonies, may not be the political trap that will ensnare us at last, by drawing different Colonies

upon that account to act differently in this great and common cause, and whenever that is the case all will be over with the whole. There ought to be no New England men, no New Yorker, &c., known on the Continent, but all of us Americans."

NATHANIEL SCUDDER.

BY WILLIAM S. STRYKER.

(Centennial Collection.)

Two brothers, the ancestors of Dr. Nathaniel Scudder, of New Jersey, emigrated to this country from Scotland about the year 1625. One of the brothers remained near where he landed in Massachusetts, and the other finally settled on Long Island in 1630. From the Long Island branch of the family came Jacob Scudder, the father of the subject of this sketch. Jacob and Abia Scudder had three sons and three daughters, Nathaniel being the eldest. He was born near Monmouth Court House, New Jersey, May 10, 1733. He graduated at the College of New Jersey in the Class of 1751, and immediately commenced the study of medicine. For many years he had an extensive practice in the county of Monmouth, and enjoyed the respect and confidence of the people of that part of the State on account of his varied learning, strong powers of mind, genial disposition, and purity of life. He married Isabella Anderson, only daughter of Colonel Kenneth Anderson, March 23, 1752. His eldest son, John Anderson Scudder, born in 1759, was a graduate of Princeton College in 1775, and adopted his father's profession, and like him was also a Member of Congress in 1810. At the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, Nathaniel Scudder was made Lieutenant-Colonel of the First Regiment of the Monmouth Militia, Colonel George Taylor being its commanding officer. About the time the Howe brothers issued their proclamation offering

protection to all who would renew their allegiance to the British King, Colonel Taylor made his submission, and deserted to the enemy. Lieutenant-Colonel Scudder was immediately appointed by the Joint Meeting of the Legislature to fill the vacancy. During the contest no two men were more true, none more vigilant and active than Nathaniel and his brother William, who was Lieutenant-Colonel of the Third Regiment of Middlesex County. During the year 1777, in addition to the duties of his profession and his military command, we find him in prompt attendance upon the meetings of the Council of Safety.

On the 30th of November, 1777, he was elected a delegate to Congress, and took his seat the beginning of the following year. In the labors and responsibilities of legislation he took an active part. His powerful appeal to the Legislature of his native State, as expressed in his letter to the Speaker, dated July 13, 1778, and published in a work entitled "New Jersey Revolutionary Correspondence," stamps him at once as a strong writer, a clear thinker, and a whole-hearted patriot. It will be remembered that at that time authority had not been given to the delegates from Maryland, Delaware, and New Jersey to sign the Articles of Confederation, which had been framed four days previous, and this appeal brought the required authority, and Dr. Scudder and his colleagues had the pleasure of signing their names to the Articles in behalf of their State. He was again elected to Congress November 6, 1778, and served until the close of the year 1779. In the list of Trustees of Nassau Hall we find him serving from the years 1678 to 1782. He was also an elder in the church of the celebrated Rev. William Tennent, on the old Monmouth battle-ground, and tradition says his Christian life was pure, and above reproach. During all the years of the Revolutionary War, Monmouth County was frequently excited by the incursions of forage parties of the British, and the attacks of tories. In an engagement, October 17, 1781, with a party of refugees at Black Point, near Shrewsbury, Colonel Scudder was killed while leading a battalion of his regiment. It has been stated, and probably with truth, that the bullet was in-

tended for Brigadier-General David Forman, the terrible, unrelenting foe of every traitor of that day. Colonel Scudder was buried with all the honors of war in the old graveyard of Tennent Church, and his tomb stands until this day.

Thus died a gentleman whose pure character adorned the profession of medicine, whose clear mind and honest purpose were often shown in the councils of his State and the Government, whose good sword was freely drawn in the hour of national peril, and who at last, in the very heat of battle, gave his patriot life to death—a martyr for the liberties of his country.

ELIAS BOUDINOT.

BY HELEN BOUDINOT STRYKER.

(Centennial Collection.)

The great-grandfather of the subject of this sketch, who bore the same name, was a Huguenot emigrant from France, and came to America in 1686, shortly after the revocation of the edict of Nantes. Elias Boudinot was born in Philadelphia, April 21, 1740. Having received the best advantages of earlier education which the Colonies could afford, he studied law with Richard Stockton at Princeton, and commenced the practice of his profession at Elizabethtown, N. J., in 1760. In 1762 he married Hannah, sister of Richard Stockton, who also married Annis Boudinot, the sister of Elias—so there was a double marriage between the families. The high position which he immediately attained in local circles is shown by the fact that, at the age of twenty-five he was chosen President of the Board of Trustees of the Presbyterian Church of Elizabethtown, which embraced not a few men prominent in political and social life. Alexander Hamilton, who was also of Huguenot descent on his mother's side, was sent at the age of fifteen from his home in Santa Cruz to obtain an education, and entered the Grammar School at Elizabeth-

town, of which Mr. Boudinot was one of the Trustees, and was admitted into that intimate friendship with the Boudinots, and other prominent patriot families, which exerted a most important influence upon his subsequent career, and which was maintained through life. Mr. Boudinot early became a devoted advocate of the patriot cause. The passing by the British Parliament of the Boston Port Bill in retaliation for the so-called Boston tea party, enkindled a furious flame of patriotism over the whole country. Town and county meetings were everywhere held to consider what should be done. The tidings reached this country May 10, 1774. On June 11th a meeting was held at the court house in Newark, at which resolutions were adopted calling on the people to stand firm in maintaining their rights, and inviting a Provincial Convention for the purpose of choosing delegates to a general Congress. Mr. Boudinot was a member of this Convention, which took the control of the State out of the hands of Governor Franklin. On the 15th of May, 1777, he was appointed by Congress Commissary-General of Prisoners, with the rank of Colonel. On November 30th of the same year he was elected to Congress, but continuing to serve as Commissary-General until the appointment of his successor, he did not take his seat in Congress until July 7, 1778. He was reappointed to Congress in 1780, and again in 1781 and 1782, and on the 4th of November of that year was chosen President of that body. In this capacity he had the honor on the 15th April, 1783, of affixing his signature to the treaty of peace with Great Britain. In 1789 he resumed the practice of law at Elizabethtown, and in 1790 received the degree of Doctor of Laws from Yale College. In 1795 he was appointed by Washington Director of the Mint at Philadelphia, and removed his residence thither. In 1805 he resigned his office, and retired to private life at Burlington, N. J., where possessed of ample means he exercised an elegant hospitality, and devoted the rest of his life to the pursuits of literature and benevolence. His wife dying in 1808, his household was presided over by his daughter and only child, the widow of William Bradford, who, at the time of his death, was Attor-

ney-General of the United States under Washington. Mrs. Bradford was a lady of remarkable dignity of manner, possessed of many talents and virtues, and was one of the most influential female characters that graced the society of that period. From 1772 to 1805 Dr. Boudinot was a Trustee of the College of New Jersey, and founded its Cabinet of Natural History with a liberal contribution. In 1812 he was chosen a corporate member of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. He was active in the organization of the American Bible Society, becoming in 1816 its first President, endowing it with a gift of $10,000, and aiding also in the erection of the first Bible House. He wrote and published in 1790 "The Age of Revelation," to counteract Paine's "Age of Reason;" in 1793, a Fourth of July oration before the New Jersey Society of Cincinnati; in 1811, an address before the New Jersey Bible Society; in 1815, a work on the Second Advent of the Messiah; in 1816, "The Star of the West," an attempt to identify the North American Indians with the descendants of the lost tribes of Israel. He died at Burlington, October 24, 1821. He left by his will the bulk of his large estate to various institutions and charities. Elias Boudinot was the trusted friend and counsellor of Washington, and was on terms of intimate intercourse with Hamilton and many other illustrious men who bore conspicuous part in the annals of our country during the eventful period of the Revolution, and the laying the foundations of the Republic. He was a person of great dignity, and at the same time of eminent courtesy of manner. He was exact in his habits of thought and expression, cool in judgment, prompt and decided in action. He was sought and trusted as a friend and counsellor by the poor as well as the rich. He was an earnest and consistent Christian, a man of prayer, a diligent student of the Bible.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1776.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF ITS MEMBERS.

BY WM. H. EGLE, M.D.

(Continued from page 101.)

BIDDLE, OWEN, of the city of Philadelphia, a great-grandson of William Biddle—one of the Proprietors of West Jersey, and for many years of the Governor's Council of that Colony—was born in Philadelphia in the year 1737. He was engaged in mercantile pursuits, and with his brother, Clement, signed the celebrated Non-importation Resolutions of October 25, 1765. He was a delegate to the Provincial Conference Jan. 23, 1775; member of the Committee of Safety from June 30, 1775, to July 22, 1776, and of the Council of Safety from July 24, 1776, to March 13, 1777; member of the Board of War March 13, 1777; of the Convention of July 15, 1776, and, in June, 1777, Deputy Commissary of Forage. His name appears in the list of Philadelphia merchants headed by Robert Morris, who became personally bound for various sums, amounting in the aggregate to over £260,000 sterling, for purchasing provisions for the army at a time when there was great difficulty in procuring supplies. During the occupancy of Philadelphia by the British, the enemy destroyed his residence, which was on the site of the Girard College grounds. He was an early and active member of the American Philosophical Society, one of its curators from 1769 to 1772, and secretary from 1773 to 1782, when he became one of the councillors, continuing as such until his death. He was one of the Committee of thirteen appointed by the Society to observe the transit of Venus on 3d of June, 1769. These observations were made with eminent success by three members of the Committee, Mr. Rittenhouse being stationed at Norristown, Dr. Ewing at Philadelphia, and Mr. Biddle at Cape Henlopen. Mr. Biddle died at Philadelphia on the 10th

of March, 1799. His descendants have always taken a prominent part in the benevolent and business enterprises of the metropolis.

Blewer, Joseph, of the county of Philadelphia, was born in Pennsylvania, of English parentage, in 1734. At the beginning of the Revolution he was a captain in the merchant service, and it was no doubt due to this fact that he was appointed a member of the Pennsylvania Navy Board, when that State established an armed flotilla for the defence of Philadelphia. He was a member of the Provincial Conference at Carpenter's Hall, June 18, 1775; member of the Convention of July 15, 1776; member of the Council of Safety, July 23, 1776; member of the Committee of Inspection for Southwark, August, 1777; and of the Navy Board, 1777–8. During the latter part of the year 1777, he served on the Committee to arrest disaffected Quakers and tories. He was a member of the General Assembly 1779–1780. He was appointed Warden of the Port of Philadelphia Oct. 31, 1781. Capt. Blewer died August 7, 1789, and is buried in the Swedes' Church-yard, near the main wall of the church, facing west. His wife Sarah, born in 1737, died May 4, 1801, and is interred by his side. Capt. Blewer invariably affixed the figures 1759 within the flourish of the final letter of his name, but why so distinguished is not known.

Brown, James, of Cumberland County, was born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, of Scotch-Irish ancestry, about 1736. He removed very early in life to Carlisle, or its vicinity. He served in the Provincial service in the Rev. Capt. Steel's company, of whose congregation at Carlisle he was a member. He was a member of the Convention of July 15, 1776, and of the General Assembly of the State from 1776 to 1778. He died in the year 1780, and was interred in the Presbyterian burying-ground at Carlisle. His son, *William Brown*, was a member of the Assembly from Cumberland County from 1780 to 1786, and during the latter year was one of the Committee to superintend the drawing of the Donation Land Lottery.

Brown, Matthew, of Northumberland County, the eldest son of John Brown—who emigrated from the Province of Ulster, Ireland, to America in 1720—was born in Paxtang Township, Lancaster (now Dauphin) County, Pennsylvania, November 6, 1732. About 1760 he settled near Carlisle, but subsequently removed to White Deer Hole Valley. His name appears on the tax list for 1775 as being in possession of sixty acres. He was one of the first overseers of the poor for White Deer Township, Northumberland County, and in February, 1776, one of the Committee of Safety for the county. In June following he was a member of the Provincial Conference, and in July 15, 1776, member of the Convention from Northumberland. In the autumn of that year he entered the army as a private soldier. Contracting the camp fever while campaigning in the Jerseys, he returned home, where he died on the 22d of April, 1777, and lies buried in a field, once part of his property, near Elimsport, Lycoming County. His wife, Eleanor, survived him thirty-seven years, dying August 9, 1814. He left eight children, the youngest of whom, *Matthew*, born in White Deer in 1776, with his brother *Thomas*, were adopted by their Uncle William Brown, who resided near Harrisburg. The former became a Doctor of Divinity, and President of Jefferson College, Canonsburg.

Burkhalter, Peter, of Northampton County, settled in Egypt, Whitehall Township, now Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, in 1740. Under the laws of the Province he was naturalized April 11, 1761, having partaken of the sacrament on the 22d of March previous. He was one of the Commissioners for the County of Northampton in 1776; was a member of the Convention of July 15, 1776; a member of the Assembly during that and the following year; and appointed sub-lieutenant of the county March 30, 1780. From 1784 to 1788 he again represented Northampton in the General Assembly, and from 1791 to 1794 in the House of Representatives. He was captain of a company of the Northampton Associators, and in active service in the Jerseys. He died in 1806, and lies buried in the old walled Union Church grave-

yard in Whitehall Township, Lehigh County. His daughter, *Magdalena*, married Col. Stephen Balliett.

Bull, John, of the county of Philadelphia, was born in 1730, in Providence Township, now Montgomery County. He was appointed Captain in the Provincial service May 12, 1758, and in June was in command at Fort Allen. The same year he accompanied Gen. Forbes' expedition for the reduction of Fort DuQuesne, and rendered important service in the negotiations with the Indians. In 1771 he owned the Morris plantation and mill, and was residing there at the opening of the Revolution. He was a delegate to the Provincial Conference of January 23, 1775, and of June 18, 1775; a member of the Convention of July 15, 1776, and of the Pennsylvania Board of War March 14, 1777. In 1775 he was appointed Colonel of the first Pennsylvania Battalion, which he resigned January 20, 1776, on account of bad treatment from his officers. He was one of the Commissioners at the Indian treaty, held at Easton, January 30, 1777; in February was in command of the works at Billingsport, and on the 16th of July was appointed Adjutant-General of the State. In October of this year, his barns were burned and stock carried away by the enemy. In December, when Gen. James Irvine was captured, Col. Bull succeeded to the command of the second brigade of the Pennsylvania militia, under Gen. Armstrong. In 1778 and 1779, he was engaged in erecting the defences for Philadelphia, and in 1780 was Commissary of Purchases at that city. In 1785 he removed to Northumberland County; in 1805 elected to the Assembly, and in 1808 was the Federal candidate for Congress, but defeated. Col. Bull died at Northumberland, August 9, 1824, aged 94. His wife, Mary, died 23d of February, 1811. They were both interred in the Quaker grave-yard at that place.

Burd, John, of Bedford County, a native of Scotland, and cousin of Col. James Burd of Tinian, was born July 15, 1724. He emigrated to America prior to 1740, and settled in the vicinity of Fort Littleton several years later. He served as

one of his majesty's justices for Bedford County; was a member of the Convention of July 15, 1776, and of the General Assembly from 1777 to 1781. He died in March, 1792. His son *Benjamin*, b. in 1754 (*vide* Rodgers's Biog. Dict.), enlisted in July, 1775, in Col. Thompson's regiment, of which he was promoted a lieutenant in October of that year. In 1777 he was appointed captain 4th Pennsylvania, and subsequently promoted major. He died at Bedford, October 5, 1823.

Cannon, James, of the city of Philadelphia, was a native of Edinburgh, Scotland, where he was born in the year 1740. He was educated in the University of his native city, and came to America in 1765. At the breaking out of the Revolution he was tutor in the College of Philadelphia, now University of Pennsylvania. From the diary of Christopher Marshall it appears he was the leading spirit in private meetings held to select candidates to be placed before the people in opposition to those representing more conservative sentiments. He was very active in forming and organizing the Associators of Philadelphia, and was Secretary of the "American Manufactory," the result of the patriotic endeavor made at the beginning of the Revolution by some of the citizens of that city in accordance with the suggestion of Congress to manufacture woolen, linen, and cotton fabrics. He was the author of the "Cassandra" Letters, which elevated him high in the esteem of the patriots. He was chosen a member of the Convention of July 15, 1776, and of the part taken by him in that body, Graydon says: The Constitution "was understood to have been principally the work of George Bryan in conjunction with Mr. Cannon, a school-master. . . . Of him it may not be uncharitable to presume that, having the little knowledge of man, and scholastic predilections for the antique in liberty, which generally falls to the lot of a pedagogue, he acted accordingly." In the Convention Mr. Cannon was placed on the Committee to draw up the instructions to the delegates of Pennsylvania in Congress, he being the author of that instrument. By the Convention he was made

one of the justices of the peace for the State, and served as member of the Council of Safety from July 24, 1776, to Dec. 4, 1777, one of the few who were not members of the Supreme Executive Council. In November, 1779, upon the establishment of the University of Pennsylvania, Mr. Cannon was elected to the Professorship of Mathematics. He died on the 28th of January, 1782, and is buried in Christ Church graveyard.

Carmichael, John, of Westmoreland County, was a native of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, born about 1751. Previous to 1775 he had settled in what is now Franklin Township, Fayette County, on the waters of Redstone Creek, about eight miles from Col. Cook's, where he erected a mill and still house. He was elected a member of the Convention of July 15, 1776, and of the Assembly in 1777. He died in 1796, leaving a widow and two sons, James and Thomas.

Cessna, John, of Bedford County, the son of John Cessna, a Huguenot who settled and married in Ireland after the battle of the Boyne, was born in Ireland about the year 1718. The elder Cessna came to America about the same period, at first settling in Eastern Pennsylvania, but subsequently locating in the Cumberland Valley. About 1765 the former removed to Friend's Cove, Bedford County, on a farm, still in possession of one of his descendants. In 1747 Mr. Cessna served as ensign in the Provincial service, as did also, at a later date, his brother Charles. On the organization of Bedford County, he heads the list of Provincial magistrates. He was a member of the Convention of July 15, 1776; sheriff of Bedford County, 1777-8; collector of excise, Jan. 1, 1778; and justice of the peace June, 1779, Oct. 21, 1782, and Sept. 9, 1790. Mr. Cessna died about the year 1800. He raised a large family of children, and his numerous descendants, scattered over the Western and Southern States, embrace in their number several very prominent men; *John Cessna*, at present a member of Congress, is a great-grandson.

Clark, Walter, of Northumberland County, was a native of Paxtang Township, Lancaster, now Dauphin County, Pennsylvania. In 1771, in conjunction with his brothers, Robert and William, he purchased land, and removed to Buffalo Valley. He was a member of the Committee of Safety for Northumberland County Feb. 8, 1776, of the Convention of July 15, 1776; and March 21, 1777, appointed sub-lieutenant of Northumberland County. In 1804, Mr. Clark removed to Mercer County, where he died.

Clark, William, of Cumberland County, was born in Lancaster, now Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, in 1740. At the beginning of the Revolution he assisted in organizing the Associators, and became Colonel of one of the Cumberland County battalions. He was a member of the Convention of July 15, 1776, and of the General Assembly in 1776 and 1777. He was appointed paymaster of the Cumberland County militia August 20, 1777. He died at his residence in Middleton Township, March 29, 1804.

Clymer, George, of the city of Philadelphia, was born March 16, 1739, of English parentage, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. His father dying when George was only seven years of age, he was taken by his maternal uncle William Coleman, educated, and subsequently entered his counting-house. In 1767 he was chosen a member of the Common Council of Philadelphia. At the celebrated tea-meeting, held in that city October 16, 1773, Mr. Clymer was appointed Chairman of the Committee to request the resignation of the tea agents. He was elected an alderman of the city of Philadelphia in 1774; a delegate to the Provincial Conference of January 23, 1775; member of the Committee of Safety from October 2, 1775, to July 22, 1776; and member of the Convention of July 15, 1776, by which body he was chosen to the Continental Congress July 20, 1776, and, although several weeks after the passage of the Declaration, signed that instrument. In September, 1776, he was sent with Stockton, of N. J., to confer with Washington on the affairs of the army. In 1777 he was

chosen to Congress by the Assembly of the State. On Dec. 7, 1778, he was appointed one of the Commissioners to attend the Indian treaty at Fort Pitt. In 1780 he was again chosen to Congress, and in November, with John Nixon assisted in organizing the Bank of North America. At the close of the Revolution he removed to Princeton, N. J., but returning to Pennsylvania shortly after, he was elected to the Assembly, serving from 1785 to 1788, during which period he aided in modifying the penal code of the State. He was a member of the Convention which framed the Federal Constitution, and in November, 1788, elected to the first Congress of the United States. In 1791 he was appointed by President Washington Collector of Excise for Pennsylvania, a position he resigned towards the close of the year 1794. With Messrs. Pickens and Hawkins he was appointed in 1796 to negotiate a treaty with the Creek and Cherokee Indians, which was consummated on the 29th of June the same year. He subsequently withdrew from public affairs, but served as President of the Academy of Fine Arts, and of the Pennsylvania Bank. He died at Morrisville, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, January 23, 1813.

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON SUNDRY CALENDARS.

BY ALEXANDER WILCOCKS.

The very interesting article by Mr. Spencer Bonsall on "Changes of Style in the Calendar" in Nos. 8 and 9 of this Magazine rather piques the curiosity of students of history and genealogy as to the character of other calendars which have had, or may still have, existence.

On examining the fifty short chapters in which the subject of Calendars is treated by M. François Arago in his "Astronomie Populaire," one is rewarded by learning some valuable facts regarding them.

Perhaps the most interesting of the non-Christian Calendars described by him, because of its superior accuracy, was that of Persia.

The following is a translation of Mons. Arago's account of it as it appears in Chapter XIX. Book XXIII.

The Persian Year in the Eleventh Century.

The Persians had already adopted in the eleventh century an intercalation which brought their civil year very near to the astronomical one, and which maintained the equinoxes and the solstices upon the same days of the civil year.

It was thus constituted: Three ordinary years of 365 days were followed by a leap-year of 366 days, and this period of four years was repeated seven times. This was succeeded by a period in which the leap-year did not occur until after four ordinary years.

Let us ask what length of year ensues from this mode of intercalation? Here is the answer:—

The first seven periods form a total of 28 years, the eighth period comprises five years, making a total of 33 years.

Therefore, in 33 years the Persians intercalate 8 days.

Hence the fractional part of the year beyond the 365 days may be expressed thus, $\frac{8 \text{ days}}{33}$

$$\frac{8 \text{ days}}{33} = 0.2424 \text{ days.}$$

10,000 years with the Persian mode of intercalation comprise	3,652,424^{ds}
10,000 astronomical years comprise . .	3,652,422^{ds}.64
The difference is only	1^{dy}.36
Between the civil year as amended by Gregory XIII.[1] and the astronomical year there is a difference of	2^{ds}.36

Thus it appears that the Persian mode of intercalation is superior in accuracy to the Gregorian Calendar now adopted by the greater part of Europe, and of the New World.

In his "History of the French Revolution" M. Thiers describes the twelve months into which the year was divided by the Directory. He also tells us of the complementary days, and the "sans culotides;" but about the manner in which the "Republican year" was made to keep pace with the astronomical year he says absolutely nothing.

More strange still than the above is the fact that while M. Arago describes with minuteness so many different calendars, upon the above interesting point in the Republican Calendar he says as little as does M. Thiers.

Upon one point only he enlarges, and thereon bases the reflection, that as the exact day on which the autumnal equinox occurs was to be calculated upon the longitude of the meridian of Paris, the founders of the Republican Calendar might have been assured that national jealousy would certainly prevent the people of other countries from adopting it.

In the "Atlas Universel d'Histoire et de Géographie," par M. N. Bouillet, under the head of "Chronologie" may be found a short, but minute account of the Republican Calendar.

The following is a translation of the article:—

[1] *Astronomie Populaire*, vol. iv. p. 688.

Republican Era.

This era, the most recent of all, is also that which has lasted the shortest time. Established in France by a decree of the Convention on the 5th October, 1793, it had a retroactive commencement from the 22d Sept. 1792.

As precedently, the ordinary years were to contain 365 days, those which contained 366 days were to be called *sextiles* (and not *bisextiles*). The difference consisted solely in the mode of intercalation.

It was ordered that the year 3 should be sextile, that from this epoch each fourth year should be sextile until the year 15; after which a 366th day should not be added till the year 20.

This sequence was to be repeated until the years 48 and 53 of the era. Thereafter a cycle of 33 years should be conformed to, in which every fourth year a sixth day called *épagomène* (that is to say, intercalated) should be added, but in such a manner that after the seventh intercalation, no addition should be made to the complementary days until the fifth year, when the 8th intercalation was to be made.

Special decrees in the years 1793 and 1794 abolished this mode of intercalation, and ordered that the first day of the year should always be that of the autumnal equinox, which was to be ascertained each year by astronomical calculations.

The duration of the Republican era was only 13 years and 100 days. By a Senatus consultum of the 22d Fructidor in the year 13, the conservative senate abolished this institution, and the 10th Nivose of the year 14 was followed immediately by the 1st of January, 1806.

In the preparation of the article "Chronologie" in the "Atlas" from which the above is translated, the Collaborator of Mons. Bouillet was Mons. Caillet.

It will be observed that by the combined testimony of these two authorities, the mode of intercalation by which the Convention proposed to keep their civil year in coincidence with the astronomical year was absolutely identical with that adopted in Persia in the Eleventh Century.

Another calendar described in detail by M. Arago is that of the Christian Church. All are familiar with the mode in which the time for the celebration of Easter was determined at the Council of Nice.

M. Arago mentions a fact with which most persons are unacquainted, viz., that "the paschal moon is a conventional moon; and may arrive at its full one or two days before or after the true or mean astronomical moon."

"Hence ensue frequent reclamations of the public, being unaware that the time of Easter is based upon the phases of a fictitious or imaginary moon, and not upon those of the real moon." "Astronomers are, therefore, taxed with ignorance or carelessness for causing the celebration of Easter to take place a month after the proper time."

There are other calendars and sundry eras described by M. Arago, which would repay perusal by those interested in such subjects.

The same is true of the subject of Chronology as treated in the "Atlas d'Histoire et de Géographie."

THE DESCENDANTS OF JÖRAN KYN, THE FOUNDER OF UPLAND.

BY GREGORY B. KEEN.

(Continued from page 95.)

SANDELANDS—CREKER—YEATES—TRENT—FRENCH—GORDON.

12. CATHARINE SANDELANDS,[3] daughter of James and Ann (Keen) Sandelands, was born at Upland, January 26, 1670–1. She married, first, Alexander Creker, who died, however, probably without issue, not long afterwards, letters of administration on his estate being granted March 16, 1690–1 (with her consent) to Mr. Sandelands, "his principal creditor." Hereupon Mrs. Creker married, secondly, Jasper Yeates, of Philadelphia County, a native of Yorkshire, England, a gentleman of considerable intelligence and force of character, who emigrated to the West Indies, and afterwards settled as a merchant on the Delaware.* In 1697 Mr. Yeates purchased the mills and property at the mouth of Naaman's Creek, in New Castle County, and the following year bought lands in Chester, erected extensive granaries on the creek, and established a large bakery.† He also built for the residence of himself and family "the venerable Mansion," still standing,‡ subsequently Mrs. Deborah Logan's, described in her MS. "remarks," referred to in the account of Mr. Sandelands. "I

* Said to have been his second wife, his first being a West Indian, who died without issue. For information with regard to Mr. Yeates and his descendants the writer is under every obligation to Mr. Charles R. Hildeburn, a gentleman to whom, also, he is indebted for constant and invaluable assistance at all points of this family history.

† Its site (between Edgmont Avenue and Chester Creek, near Filbert or Second Street), is indicated in the "Draft of the First Settled Part of Chester," in Dr. Smith's "History of Delaware County." "It was torn down some years since." Martin's "Chester," p. 90.

‡ Situated on the west side of Second Street, about a hundred feet north of Edgmont Avenue, looking towards the river. It has been converted into two separate dwelling-houses.

believe," she says, "the initials of the names of Jasper and Catharine Yeates and the date of the year are on one of the gables of the House. I do not think the Chambers have ever been repainted. It formerly had large Buttresses built up against the Gables for strength, and small ones to guard the brick walls on each side of the Mansion House." On erecting the Town of Chester into a Borough, October 31, 1701, William Penn constituted Jasper Yeates one of the four Burgesses, and Mr. Yeates was chosen Chief Burgess in 1703, being the earliest occupant of that office whose name has been preserved to us.* At a meeting of the Provincial Council, March 19, 1705–6, he was ordered, with others, to survey "the Queen's Road" to Darby, connecting Chester more directly with Philadelphia. Mr. Yeates possessed some knowledge of the law, and in 1694 was appointed Justice of the Court for Chester County, and in later years (as from 1704 to 1710, and from 1717 till his death in 1720) held the position of Associate-Justice of the Supreme Courts of the Province of Pennsylvania and the Lower Counties on the Delaware. On the 25th of September, 1696, Mr. Yeates was admitted to a seat in the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, an office whose duties he fulfilled, with some intervals of intermission, for the rest of his life.

* Martin's "Chester," p. 301. On pages 89 and 90 appears a petition of James Sandelands to William Penn and Council, sitting at New Castle, November 19, 1700, setting forth that he "is possessed of a certain spot of land lying in the Countie of Chester, verie fitt and naturally commodious for a Town, and to that end lately caused the said spot of land to be divided and laid out into Lotts, Street, and Market place" (a draft and model being submitted), and praying for the erection of the ground into "a Town." "Upon reading the Petition, and upon hearing the Petitioner and some of the Inhabitants of the Countie of Chester, Jasper Yeates and Robert French, who married two of the Petitioner's Sisters, were sent for, and the said Petition was again read to them, and being Askt if they had anything to object Against the same, they answered that they had not; and Jasper Yeates added that he had advised with a person or persons skilled in the Law, whether the said Petitioner had the power to sell the Land in the petition mentioned, and they had told him hee had power and might sell the same. Whereupon the Proprietary and Governour and Councill . . . did erect the said spot of Land so modelled and Laid outt into a Town." It forms an ancient part of the present Chester.

In October, 1700, he was elected a Representative of New Castle County in the General Assembly of the Province, and after the separation of the Lower Counties on the Delaware was chosen a Representative and Speaker of their Assembly. On occasion of King William's proposing, in 1701, to levy a sum of £350 upon the Province "for the Erecting and maintaining a ffort at the ffrontiers of the Province of New York," together with his wife's brother-in-law, Robert French, and other Representatives of the Lower Counties, he presented an energetic address to the Proprietor, naturally differing somewhat in tone from that drawn up by the Quaker majority of the Assembly: "We desire your honour to represent to his Majesty the weak & naked condition of the Lower Counties, as we are the ffrontiers of the Province, and Dayly threatned with an Approaching War, not being able to furnish ourselves with arms and ammunition for our defence, having Consumed our small stocks in making Tobacco, which hath proved very advantageous for the Kingdom of England, Yet that his Majesty hath not been pleased to take notice of us in the way of Protection, having neither standing Militia nor Persons Impowered to Command the People in Case of Invasion . . . These things, we hope, by your honour's influence, will Incite his Majesty to take into consideration our present circumstances, & not require any Contribution from us for fforts abroad before we are able to build any for our own defence at home."* In October, 1701, while a new charter of privileges for the Colony was under consideration and preparing, the disagreement, which had occurred between the Province and Territories in 1691–3, once more exhibited itself, and Jasper Yeates became conspicuously concerned in the discussions of the points

* See Minutes of the Provincial Council held at Philadelphia "the 6th of 6th Mo., 1701." The Address of the Assembly to the Proprietor stands thus: "We move that the further consideration of the King's Letter may be referred to another meeting of Assembly, or untill more emergent occasions shall require our proceedings therein. In the meantime we earnestly Desire the Proprietor would Candidly represent our Conditions to the King, and assure him of our readiness (according to our abilities) to acquiesce with and answer his Commands *so far as our Religious perswasions shall permitt*, as becomes Loyal and faithful subjects so to do."

at issue. Failing to carry his measures in the Assembly, in company with the other Representatives of the Lower Counties, he withdrew from the House, and on the 14th of October appeared before William Penn in Council, remonstrating against the proceedings of the former body, "which" (as Proud says), "they declared were, in their consequences, highly injurious and destructive to the privileges of the Lower Counties, and which, consistent with their duty to their constituents, they apprehended, they could not sit there, to see carried on; and, therefore, they informed the Governor, they thought it best for them to depart to their respective habitations." "To which the Governour gave his Several answers, concluding that he took it very unkind, to himself in particular, they would now give Occasion of a Rupture, such a Return as they would find, perhaps, he deserved better from their hands: upon which they affirmed (by Jasper Yeates) that it was not through any personal disregard to the Governour, for whom they had always a sincere respect, but they must be just to their principals whom they Represented, and, therefore, could not proceed unless they could act safely in Regard to the Privileges of their Counties."* At another meeting of the Proprietary and Members of Council, on the same day, the Assembly being sent for, both the Members for the Province and those for the Territories appeared, when the Proprietor explained to them still further his desire to maintain the unity of government (to which the gentlemen from the Lower Counties continued to object), and seems at last to have prevailed upon them to a present accommodation, with the provision in the new charter, then granted, for a conditional separation, if they chose it, within the space of three years. After Penn's departure for England the Representatives of the Territories absolutely refused to join with those of the Province in legislation, till it was finally agreed between them, in 1703, that they should compose distinct Assemblies entirely independent of each other, and in this capacity they

* Minutes of the Provincial Council.

acted from that time.* In 1698, in company with five other gentlemen of note in the Colony, Mr. Yeates was empowered, by a *Dedimus* under the Great Seal of England, to administer the oaths to all such persons as should take upon them the Government of Pennsylvania, a duty which he discharged in the cases of Lieutenant-Governors Andrew Hamilton, John Evans, and Charles Gookin; and in 1717 he received a similar writ from William Penn, addressed, likewise, to William Trent, Robert Assheton, and John French,† authorizing them to administer the oaths of office to Lieutenant-Governor William Keith, an act which he appropriately performed. Mr. Yeates is frequently mentioned in James Logan's letters to the Proprietor, published by the Historical Society, not always complimentarily, however, in consequence of his peculiar devotion to the interests of the Lower Counties on the Delaware. In a letter to Penn, dated "Philadelphia, 2d December, 1701," the Secretary says: "All things have gone very smooth and easy since thy departure, without the least obstruction or emotion. Coming up from the Capes I called on Rodney, and such others as were viewed violent, and leading men, and left them very easy and good-natured in appearance; and when I came to town I made bold to give a small treat at Andrews's to the Governor,‡ Richard Halliwell, Jasper

* See Minutes of the Provincial Council, and Robert Proud's "History of Pennsylvania," *in locis.* James Logan, in a letter to William Penn, dated "Philadelphia, 3d 1st mo., 1702–3" ("Penn and Logan Correspondence," vol. i. p. 176), says: "The chief thing that disturbs the people in all the three (lower) counties is our refusing to grant lands at the old rent, which chiefly induces them to wish themselves under the crown."

† Messrs. Trent and French are both mentioned elsewhere in this genealogy. Robert Assheton was a relative of William Penn, who for some time occupied a seat in the Provincial Council, and held many offices of dignity and trust in the Colonial Government.

‡ The Hon. Andrew Hamilton, Esq., one of the Proprietors of East New Jersey, and some time Governor of both East and West New Jersey, whom Penn had constituted his Deputy-Governor on sailing to England. Of the other gentlemen named, Richard Halliwell is spoken of in the third letter here cited. He was at times Sheriff and Justice of the Peace for New Castle County, which he represented as early as 1690 in the Assembly of the Province, and was one of the signers of the protest addressed in 1691 to the

Yeates, J. Moore, and some such others, about a dozen, including T. Farmer, and the other owners of the small yacht or vessel the family went down to New Castle in, on thy behalf and in thy name, which, being very well timed and managed, was, I have reason to believe, of good service. 'Tis not that I could think it my place to take such things upon me, but at that time I could not have been dissuaded from it." In another to the same, dated "Philadelphia, 14th 4th mo., 1703," Logan writes as follows: "Gov. Nicholson, of Virginia, passed this way lately, to and from New York, and at his departure did all the mischief it was possible for him at New Castle, though treated very civilly by Friends here. I accompanied him to Burlington upwards, and designed [going] to New Castle with him downwards; but at Chester, at supper with Jasper Yeates, we had some high words, occasioned at first by the clergy, on which J. Growdon,* who was with us, and I returned from thence in the morning: the subject was the territories. He has encouraged them, as't is reported, to build a church at New Castle, on the green, and promises to procure a confirmation of it from Queen Anne."

Provincial Council, which determined the Proprietor to separate the Governorship of the Lower Counties on the Delaware under Colonel William Markham from that of the Upper Counties under Thomas Lloyd. In 1695 he was admitted to a seat in the Provincial Council, an honour which he frequently afterwards enjoyed. "J. Moore" is, of course, John Moore, Attorney-General of Pennsylvania, Deputy-Judge of the Vice-Admiralty in 1700 and 1704, and successor to John Bewley as Collector of the Port of Philadelphia, an office which he held for the remaining thirty years of his life. He was conspicuous for his interest in ecclesiastical affairs, and was one of the original members of Christ Church in Philadelphia. Mr. Logan attributes to him the writing of the "Address to the Lords of Trade," signed by Mr. Yeates and others, referred to in the third letter quoted. "T. Farmer"—Thomas Farmer, Sheriff of Philadelphia. The "treat" was given in accordance with the instructions of William Penn to Logan indited on the "Ship Dolmahoy, 3d 9br., 1701:" "Give a small treat in my name to the gentlemen at Philadelphia, for a beginning to a better understanding."

* Joseph Growdon, for so many years Member of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania from Bucks County, and constantly Speaker of that body, also Member of the Provincial Council, and Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of the Province.

The most important reference to Mr. Yeates occurs in a letter from Logan to Penn, dated "Philadelphia, 5th 1st mo., 1708–9," presenting a graphic account of an endeavour on his part to establish a seat of government at New Castle quite independent of that stationed at Philadelphia. "In November last," says Logan, "I took the liberty to inform thee that some of the leading members of the New Castle Assembly, chosen the first of October last, had formed a design to call thy powers of government in these three Lower Counties into question, and had proceeded in it until prevented by the other members dissenting from them, who at the time put an end to the matter by breaking up the House. . . . I now beg leave to acquaint thee that they have drawn an address directed to the Lords of Trade, &c., complaining of divers grievances that they lie under by reason of thee and the Quakers. Particularly they complain that under thy administration they have no sufficient power to enact laws for the publick good, that they are left naked and defenceless in this time of war, and that they have had no Provincial Courts among them for these seven years past, &c.; and this is signed by nine members, of which James Coutts,* Jasper Yeates, Richard Halliwell, and Robert French are the leaders. . . . The country people of this Province," pursues Logan, "having of late generally fallen upon the practice of bolting their own wheat, and selling or shipping the flour, Jasper Yeates, a man of a working brain for his own interest, found his trade at Chester to fall under a very discouraging decay. Upon this he has frequently discoursed of removing to New Castle, where he is possessed of a large tract of land close to the town, by means of that irregular grant made to Colonel Markham, of whom he purchased it. But as that town has never been considerable for trade, and, therefore, his land, notwithstanding the conveniency of its situation, not very valuable, the first thing to be laboured was how to render it so, of which they could never conceive any great hopes unless some bar

* At that time Speaker of the Assembly of the Lower Counties, a gentleman, according to Logan, usually antagonistic to Yeates.

were thrown in between that and Philadelphia, that there might be no communication between this and the Lower Counties, whose inhabitants have always chosen rather to bring their trade quite to Philadelphia than to stop or have anything to do at New Castle. . . . To make this town flourish, therefore, was the business, to which nothing seemed more conducive than an entire separation of these counties from the Province. Formerly they had been strictly united; but since thy departure, Jasper Yeates, principally, with French and Halliwell, by their obstinacy, caused a separation in the business of legislation. . . But this separation seemed not yet sufficient. It in no way helped to ingross the trade of the place to these men who had laboured it. Nothing would do but either to get New Castle made the seat of a small government by itself; which, how inconsiderable soever, might, notwithstanding, answer the proposed end; or else to have it annexed to some other neighbouring Government besides Pennsylvania, the distance of whose capital from our river might leave New Castle almost as absolute in the administration, which must be committed to the principal men of that place, as if it were altogether independent. How this might be compassed was next to be considered. . . . Jasper first fell upon the measures to be taken. At the election for New Castle he was chosen with the three others, and two more for New Castle, and Robert French the same day, also, for Kent, where they elected, likewise, by Robert French's interest, several others fit for their purpose, their design not being then known; but in Sussex they gained not one member, there being none present at the election to stickle for them, as Robert French did in Kent, where his estate chiefly lies." There was a report, says Logan, of the prospective removal of Colonel Evans from the Governorship, "and since he had, also, purchased a small farm or tract of land near New Castle, it was expected he would be well pleased, rather than lose all, to fall in with their project, and by their assistance endeavour to obtain the poor Government of these Counties from the Crown to himself." The scheme fell through, however, in consequence of Governor Evans's failure

to encourage them, as well as the withdrawal of their opponents from the Assembly, thus leaving that body without a quorum, as before stated; and the address referred to at the beginning of Logan's letter appears to have borne no fruit. With regard to one of the "grievances" alleged, that "where they complain of wanting Provincial Courts for seven years," Mr. Logan says: "It is true there have been failures of that kind, yet some of these men very well know that it has been owing to themselves, and not to the Government. Commissions for that Court have always been duly issued; and generally Jasper Yeates and Richard Halliwell, especially of late years, have been two of the number that have filled them; nor did they refuse the office. But several times, 'tis true, when it has been thought these Courts could scarce possible have failed of being held, yet by some unexpected accident, occasioned entirely by the judges themselves, they have often very strangely been put off, the design in which, tho' never once suspected before, now largely appears." And the Secretary proceeds to speak of "the reiterated endeavours used by Richard Halliwell and Robert French to prevent the holding of any Courts at all at New Castl These men have for this reason been put out of commission, and have again been recommended by the rest as fitly qualified by their experience to serve the country. . . . He needs not information of Richard Halliwell's unworthy endeavours to prevent the holding of a Court in November last, at New Castle; or of Robert French's soliciting to be in the Commission for the Orphans' Court; and yet as often as it was appointed, still found a pretence to be absent to prevent its sitting; notwithstanding all which, among the very last names sent up for the Commission for Kent County, he has got himself recommended for a Justice there, where he has reason, since Captain Rodney's death, to hope he may be able to do the most considerable mischief, for in New Castle he can do no more." One of the grounds of opposition of the inhabitants of the Lower Counties to the Proprietary Government, referred to by Secretary Logan, was dislike of William Penn's religion, most of the residents in the Territories being either adherents of the Establishment,

or dissenters of other creeds. This was notoriously the case with Jasper Yeates. He was one of the original members, and, probably, one of the earliest Vestrymen of Christ Church in Philadelphia, his name being appended to a letter, dated January 18, 1706–7, borne by Col. Robert Quarry* to Gov. Francis Nicholson, in acknowledgment of his "Excellency's extraordinary bounty and liberality in assisting to build the Church," and desiring that the condition of the parish be commended to the attention of the Archbishop of Canterbury.† In 1699 he resisted the application of David Lloyd to the Lieutenant-Governor and Council for the privilege of laying out and building a town upon "a parcel of land at Chester, called the Green," on the ground that it was "Church land, and appropriated by a donation to that use forever," it having been granted, at a very early period, for the use of the Swedes' minister. And when the objection to the title was removed by a release from William Penn, he purchased the spot from Mr. Lloyd, the endorsement of the deed describing it as lying before his door.‡ Mr. Yeates was one of the first Vestrymen of St. Paul's Congregation at Chester, his zeal in founding which Church has already been spoken of in the account of his father-in-law. In Humphreys's "Historical Account of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts," "Mr. Jasper Yeates and Mr. James Sandelands," his brother-in-law, "two worthy Gentlemen of Chester," are said to "deserve particular mention; they were the principal promoters of the building of this Church." In the Rev.

* One of the gentlemen authorized by the crown, with Mr. Yeates, to administer the oaths of office to the Governors of Pennsylvania. He was Governor of South Carolina in 1684 and 1690, and afterwards Judge of the Admiralty in New York and Pennsylvania. He was a Member of the Council of five Governments at one time: New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia.

† The letter is given among Perry's "Papers relating to the History of the Church in Pennsylvania," pp. 5–7, a volume which contains several communications from Mr. Yeates with regard to the Church at Chester.

‡ See Minutes of the Provincial Council, May 15, 1699; and "Record of Upland Court," Note B, pp. 200 et seq.; as well as Dr. Smith's "History of Delaware County," and Martin's "Chester," *in locis.*

George Keith's "Journal of Travels from New Hampshire to Caratuck on the Continent of North America"* occurs this entry: "August 3, 1703, I preached in the Church at Chester . . . and had a considerable Auditory: We were kindly entertained at the house of Mr. Jasper Yeates there." The Church at New Castle, of which mention is made in one of Logan's letters to Penn just quoted, was erected in 1703, and called Immanuel, and Mr. Yeates's name appears in the earliest lists of Vestrymen of that parish extant. Towards the close of his life Mr. Yeates removed to a plantation near the town of New Castle, and here he resided until the period of his death. He left a valuable estate, both real and personal, and made his will, disposing of it, February 6, 1718–19, an instrument which was admitted to probate, at New Castle, May 2, 1720.† Mrs. Yeates survived her husband, by whom she had six children:

41. James, still living January 26, 1712, the date of a letter addressed to him by his father, recorded at New Castle.
2. George, b. April 5, 1695; m. Mary Donaldson.
43. Ann, b. December 27, 1697; m. George McCall.
44. Mary, b. December 4, 1701; m. Samuel Carpenter.
45. John, b. May 1, 1705; m. Elizabeth Sidebotham.
46. Jasper, b. June 22, 1708; d. s. p. before February, 1768.

14. Mary Sandelands,[3] daughter of James and Ann (Keen) Sandelands, was born at Upland, and married in 1693–4 Maurice Trent, "of the Province of Pennsylvania, mariner,"‡ who

* London, 1706, p. 73. Mr. Keith is the preacher who created a division in the Society of Friends, and, being disowned as a member, returned to England, and took orders in the Established Church.

† A fac-simile of Mr. Yeates's signature is given in Dr. Smith's "History of Delaware County."

‡ In "The Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey in America," by George Scot, published at Edinburgh in 1685, occurs a letter addressed to Maurice Trent, by Patrick Falconer, dated "Elizabeth Toun in East Jersey, the 28th of October, 1684." And in a deed recorded at Philadelphia mention is made of a sale, July 2–3, 1680, by Edward Byllynge and others, of "one full, equal, and undivided Ninetyeth Part of West New Jersey" to "Maurice Trent, late of Leith in Scotland, Merchant, and Hector Allen, late of Preston Panns in Scotland, Mariner," both deceased by No-

died by October 7, 1697, when letters of administration on his estate were granted to his widow. Soon after the latter married Robert French, a native of Scotland, and a merchant "of the Town and County of New Castle upon Delaware," possessed of numerous large tracts of land in this and the adjoining county of Kent. Mr. French was a gentleman of prominence in the Government of the Lower Counties on our river, and copies of letters addressed to him by William Penn are still preserved. One of these, dated "Philada. 12 Mo. 1699–1700," incloses "a writ for y^e^ County of New Castle to return their Representatives for a Council & Assembly." Another, written about the same time, is as follows:

"Jn° Donaldson,
Rob^t^ ffrench,
Cornel^us^ Empson, } Loving fr^ds^:

Being informed that there are Several Pirates, or p'sons so suspected lately landed below, on this and t'other side of the River, & that some hover about New Castle, full of Gold, These are to desire you to use your utmost Endeavour and Diligence in discovering and app'hending all such p'sons as you may know or hear of that may be so suspected, according to my Proclamation, issued at my Arrival, & of such as you shall discover or app'hend give immediate Notice unto me, who am, Yo^r^ Loving ffr^d^,

WM. PENN."*

vember 4, 1721. It does not seem improbable that these Maurice Trents may be the same, and identical with, or of the family of, the one who married Mary Sandelands, as well as related to William Trent, from whom the city of Trenton, New Jersey, derives its name, who was Judge of the Supreme Court and Member of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, Speaker of the Assemblies of both Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and at his death, in 1724, Chief-Justice of New Jersey. The latter gentleman called one of his sons Maurice.

* Both of these letters are given in "Pennsylvania Archives," vol. i. pp. 126 and 128. It was Mr. Donaldson's daughter who married George, son of Jasper and Catharine (Sandelands) Yeates. Cornelius Empson was a Judge of the Supreme Court of the Province, and one of the Justices of the Peace for New Castle County, which he sometimes represented in the General Assembly.

Mr. French was chosen a Member of the Provincial Council from New Castle County in January, 1699–1700, a position which he also filled in 1707; and August 20, 1701, he was commissioned Associate-Justice of the Provincial Court of Pennsylvania. He was elected a Representative of New Castle County in the General Assembly of the Province in October, 1700, and actively participated in the movements of the Lower Counties during the two succeeding years, related in the account of Jasper Yeates, which resulted in the division of the Assemblies under the Proprietary Government. After this event Mr. French frequently sat in the Assembly of the Territories. He was one of the leaders in the endeavour to achieve independency of the Provincial Government, which culminated in 1709 in the appeal to the authorities in Great Britain, already mentioned. Like the rest of his connections he appears to have been a member of the Church of England, and was, doubtless, one of the founders of Immanuel Church, at New Castle on the Delaware. The following entry, pertaining to him, is recorded in the Rev. Mr. Keith's "Journal," cited above: "July 29, 1703. We came from thence* to New Castle, by Delaware River, and were kindly entertained at the House of Mr. Robert French, some Days." Mr. French's will is dated at New Castle, January 23, 1712, and is quite voluminous, affording a noteworthy glimpse of this excellent gentleman's character. After disposing of his several plantations in full accord with colonial conceptions of the claims of primogeniture, he proceeds to speak of his only "son now at Schoole in the Town of Chester" in terms which indicate the highest estimate of the benefits of superior education very unusual in the infant colony. "I desire," he says, "he may be kept at that or Some other Schoole untill he attaine what Gramaticall this Government Can aford him,& if he be of a Genious, & have Good Inclinations to Learning, I desire he may be sent to the University of Glasgow, in North

* "The Mannor, by Bohemia River, where we lodged, and were kindly entertained by the Master of the House, who was a German," probably Caspar Hermans, son of Augustyn Hermans, and father of Ephraim Augustine Herman, who married Isabella Trent.

Brittaine, & there placed under a Severe and pious Tutor Untill he acquire at Least four Years accademicall Learning, & as he is fitt for a divine or Phisitian I desire he may betake himselfe accordingly, & if the Incomes of what is Left him & personall Estate will not support the Charge I doe order that the Plantation in fforest of Jonses Containing five hundred acres of land be sold to doe it, & if that be not Enough then the one halfe of Eight hundred acres near to Caleb offlys, & if that be not Enough then five hundred acres of the Land Called the partnership or Mill Neck in Kent County, but noe more to be Sold than what needs Must." In case of the failure of lineal and collateral heirs he wills that his property "descend to the use of the poor" in the counties of Kent and New Castle, and "particularly for the erecting of a school & maintaining a schoolmaster for teaching poor children in Each of the said Counties." He appoints his wife and only son executors, and his "well respected friend and Contrey Man, Andrew Hamilton, of Chester river in Mary Land, Gent.,"* and his brother, Thomas French, of County Kent, trustees. He died in Philadelphia, September 8, 1713, and was interred in St. Paul's Church at Chester.† James Logan thus speaks of him in a letter to William Penn, written that day: "Rob't ffrench is this day carried from hence to be buried. He has been long ill, and died here last night. His Death will be a Loss to us, for tho' once he was very troublesome,‡

* The eminent lawyer of that name, afterwards Member of the Provincial Council and Attorney-General of Pennsylvania, Prothonotary and Recorder of the City of Philadelphia, Judge of the Vice-Admiralty, and Speaker of the Assembly, for a good account of whom see "The Historical Magazine," Second Series, vol. iv. pp. 49–59.

† The inscription on his tombstone (the oldest but one in St. Paul's Churchyard) is as follows: "Robert French obt. Sept. the 8th, 1713." "It is cut," says Mr. Martin ("Chester," p. 129), "upon an ordinary slab of syenite, six feet long, and three and a half feet wide, and is made the stepping-stone from the front gateway of the present church-edifice."

‡ Robert Proud, indeed, accuses him, in "The History of Pennsylvania," vol. i. pp. 468–9, of having been, with Governor John Evans, a chief promoter of the noted false alarm of an attack on Hore Kill and New Castle by the French, which caused consternation among the peaceful inhabitants of Philadelphia during the May fair of 1706. According, however, to a letter of

yet, like Wm. Rodney, before his Decease his heart seem'd turn'd, & he appear'd a cordial Wellwisher to thee & thy Interest."* After the death of her second husband Mrs. French married (Immanuel Church Register, New Castle, Delaware), February 17, 1714–15, Robert Gordon, who was commissioned by Governor Patrick Gordon Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of the Lower Counties upon Delaware, July 25, 1726, and April 20, 1727, Judge of the Supreme Court of the Lower Counties, and Justice of the Peace for the County of New Castle, and October 26, of the following year, succeeded Colonel John French, kinsman of Robert French, as "Register of the Probate of Wills" for the same County.† Mr. Gordon was one of thirty gentlemen, who represented the Territories in signing the "Proclamation of King George the Second, at New Castle upon Delaware," September 4, 1727.‡ Mrs. Gordon was still living April 18, 1728, when Mr. Gordon is described as "of the Town of New Castle upon Delaware, Gentleman," and she is, possibly, the lady referred to in a letter from Robert Gordon to Governor John Penn ("I have sent up by my Wife some old Drafts and warants"), dated New Castle, 5th March, 1739–40.§

Samuel Preston to Jonathan Dickinson, dated three days after the fright (contained in "The Penn and Logan Correspondence," vol. ii. p. 121), the main accomplice in contriving this worse than foolish test of the quality of Quaker principles was Colonel John French, for many years Member of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, whom Robert French calls "kinsman" in his will, and whom Mr. Preston describes, rather splenetically, perhaps, as "clothed with more titles than I know how to name, but amounting to the Governour's vicegerent or representative" at New Castle. See, also, a letter of James Logan to William Penn, ibid. p. 309.

* "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, vol. vii. p. 39.

† The last-mentioned office was conferred upon him notwithstanding a claim set up for it by Peter Evans under colour of a patent from William Penn, and out of regard, apparently, to a letter signed by ten of the Justices of the Peace for New Castle County, desiring the appointment of a "fit person of Capacity living and residing among" them. See "Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania," as well as "Pennsylvania Archives," vol. i. pp. 234–5.

‡ "Pennsylvania Archives," vol. i. p. 204.

§ Printed in "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, vol. vii. pp. 218–19.

By her first husband, Maurice Trent, Mary Sandelands had two children:

47. Isabella, m. Ephraim Augustine Herman.
48. Eleanor, m. John Hore.

By her second husband, Robert French, she had five children:

49. David, the son referred to in his father's will cited above. He seems to have pursued his studies with good success, and at an early age exhibited that rarest talent among the colonists on our river, a true genius for poetry. A few of his verses, fortunately, have been preserved to us through the appreciative care of a brother-poet of a later period, Mr. John Parke, "an officer of Washington's army, and a gentleman of classical acquirements and cultivated taste,"—"translations," says the latter, "from the Greek and Latin, which were consigned to oblivion, through the obliterating medium of rats and moths, under the sequestered canopy of an antiquated trunk; written, between the years 1718 and 1730, by the learned and facetious David French, Esq., late of the Delaware Counties."* They are renderings of the 8th Elegy of the First Book of Ovid "*de Tristibus*," and the 3d of the Third Book, and of the 1st, 4th,

* "The Lyric Works of Horace, Translated into English Verse: To which are added a Number of Original Poems. By a Native of America. Philadelphia: Printed by Eleazar Oswald, at the Coffee House. MDCCLXXXVI." Preface. The late Joshua Francis Fisher, Esq., of our city, in "Some Account of the Early Poets and Poetry of Pennsylvania" ("Memoirs of the Historical Society," vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 59), in speaking of Mr. French's verses, says: "Some of them were written as early as 1718, and are, therefore, amongst the earliest, as they are of the best, colonial poetry we are likely to discover. They are undoubtedly the composition of a man of learning and of taste. They discover a familiar acquaintance with the classical authors, and are so elegant and fluent in their style, that we cannot but believe Mr. French to have been a practised writer of English poetry. Fame, however, has been for once unjust, and posterity has none of his original verses to admire." The Messrs. Duyckinck, in their "Cyclopedia of American Literature," vol. i. p. 116, affirm that "the smoothness and elegance of the versification [of Mr. French's poems] testify to the accomplished scholarship of the writer." Mr. Fisher falls into the error of presuming David French to have been the son of Colonel John French, of New Castle, a relative elsewhere referred to, but takes the precaution to qualify his conjecture with a particle denoting doubt. This word is omitted by the Messrs. Duyckinck, as well as by Mr. S. Austin Allibone in quoting from them in his "Dictionary of Authors," whose works, therefore, both perpetuate the blunder as a fact.

11th, 12th, and 26th Odes of Anacreon, and are both literal and graceful. Mr. French does not appear to have devoted himself to either of the professions proposed to him in his father's last testament, but preferred the career of lawyer, and July 25, 1726, at a very youthful age, he was commissioned Attorney-General for the Lower Counties on the Delaware. He signed the Proclamation of King George II. at New Castle the following year, and October 26, 1728, succeeded his cousin, Colonel John French, as "Clerk of the Peace and Prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas" for the County of New Castle. At the Meeting of Council, at which the latter honour was conceded him, the highest encomium possible was bestowed upon the mode in which he had discharged the duties of his former post; for, when the Governor was about to name some one to take his place as Attorney-General, "the Board observed that as the due Prosecution of Criminals tends very much to the Reputation of a Government, & that the present Attorney-General had acquitted himself in that Office to the general Satisfaction of the Counties, & was very well qualified for the office now to be conferred on him, it might not be improper to continue him Attorney-General for some time, & that, if another is appointed, Mr. French would undertake to assist him in the Public Prosecutions." The lucrative office of Prothonotary he retained for the rest of his life. Mr. French was also elected Member and Speaker of the Assembly of the Lower Counties. In 1740, in company with Clement Plumsted* and Samuel Chew,† Esquires, and Col. Levin Gale,‡ he received "a Commission, issued out of his Majesties high

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* A prominent merchant of Philadelphia, Alderman and Mayor of the City, Justice of the Peace for the County of Philadelphia, and for many years Member of the Provincial Council and General Assembly of Pennsylvania, a relative of Clement Plumsted, of London, one of the Twenty-four Proprietors of East Jersey. His son William married a descendant of Jöran Kyn.

† Doctor Samuel Chew, son of Benjamin and Elizabeth (Benson) Chew, of "Maidstone," near West River, Maryland, afterwards of Philadelphia, and finally of Dover, County Kent, appointed in 1741 Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of the Lower Counties on Delaware. He was the father of Benjamin Chew, Recorder of Philadelphia, and Attorney-General and the last Chief-Justice of the Province of Pennsylvania. For a brief account of him see "The Pennsylvania Magazine," vol. i. p. 472.

‡ Son of George Gale, who was born in Kent County, England, in 1670, and settled in Maryland in 1690, where he died in August, 1712. Colonel Gale was a Member of the Legislature of Maryland for Somerset County in 1728 and 1734, and was one of the two Commissioners appointed by Governor Samuel Ogle, of Maryland, who ran the famous "temporary line" of 1739

and honourable Court of Chancery in England, for the Examination of Witnesses in the Province of Pennsylvania and the three lower Counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex," in the highly important cause of Penn *v.* Lord Baltimore, which determined the boundaries of Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland. His will is dated August 16, 1742, his brother-in-law, John Finney, and his friend, John Legate, Esq., of New Castle, being named executors. He died, unmarried, a few days afterwards, and was buried "by the side of his father" in St. Paul's Church, Chester, Pa., the 25th of the same month. The following obituary notice of him is to be found in "The Pennsylvania Gazette" for August 26, 1742: "Philadelphia. The beginning of this Week died at New Castle, David French, Esq.; late Speaker of the Assembly of that Government, &c. A young Gentleman of uncommon Parts, Learning and Probity, join'd with the most consummate Good-Nature; and therefore universally beloved and regretted. The Corps was brought up to Chester, and yesterday interred in the Church there, the Funeral being attended by many Gentlemen, his Friends, from this City."

50. Catharine, m. John Shannon.
51. Anne, m. Nicholas Ridgely.
52. Elizabeth, m. John Finney.
53. Mary, m. James Gardner.

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between the Provinces of Maryland and Pennsylvania. (See "Old Kent." by George A. Hanson, M. A., Baltimore, 1876, and "Pennsylvania Archives," and "Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania," *in locis.*)

RECORDS OF CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

BURIALS, 1709–1760.

CONTRIBUTED BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

(Continued from page 196.)

July 21, 1754.	Elves,	Deborah, wife of Capt. Henry.
June 8, 1709.	Elwood,	Sarah, wife of Richard.
Sept. 2, 1717.	"	Elizabeth, wife of Thomas.
June 2, 1743.	Emerson,	Sarah, wife of Lambert.
Dec. 14, 1745.	Emmerson,	Lambert.
Aug. 8, 1743.	Enis,	Lydia, dau. of James.
Feb. 13, 1743–4.	"	Rebecca, dau. of James.
Sept. 17, 1731.	Ennis,	Susannah, dau. of James.
Oct. 3, 1740.	Erwin,	George.
July 12, 1745.	"	Sarah, dau. of John.
Mar. 28, 1746–7.	"	John, son of John.
Sept. 5, 1747.	"	Malachi, son of John.
Oct. 7, 1751.	"	Alexander, son of John.
June 21, 1755.	"	——— dau. of John.
Oct. 3, 1735.	Esman,	Sarah. [Martha.
Aug. 25, 1713.	Evans,	William, son of William and
Jan. 29, 1719–20.	"	Mary, dau. of Peter and Mary. Gent.
Oct. 12, 1721.	"	The Rev. Dr. [Evan] died ye 10th, aged 60 years.
Feb. 26, 1725–6.	"	Elizabeth.
Oct. 5, 1727.	"	Martha, dau. of Stephen.
Dec. 8, 1727.	"	John.
Aug. 31, 1728.	"	Peter, son of Mr. Peter.
Feb. 25, 1730–1.	"	Theodosia, dau. of Mary.
April 26, 1731.	"	Joseph.
Sept. 11, 1731.	"	Mary. Strangers' Ground.
Nov. 6, 1733.	"	Mary, wife of Peter.
May 10, 1738.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Evan and Elizabeth.
Aug. 17, 1743.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of John.
Sept. 4, 1743.	"	Isaac, son of John.
May 14, 1745.	"	Peter, Esq.
Aug. 2, 1746.	"	David, son of David.
Jan. 4, 1746–7.	"	Evan, son of John.

Feb. 17, 1746–7.	Evans,	Elizabeth, wife of John.
July 26, 1747.	"	Sophia, dau. of Lewis.
Feb. 3, 1747–8.	"	Martha, wife of Lewis.
Sept. 10, 1749.	"	John.
Aug. 3, 1750.	"	Lewis, son of James.
Jan. 17, 1750–1.	"	John.
Sept. 5, 1751.	"	Susannah, wife of James.
June 14, 1756.	"	Lewis.
July 20, 1756.	"	James.
April 18, 1751.	Eve,	Anne, dau. of Oswald.
Nov. 11, 1756.	"	——— dau. of Oswald.
Nov. 27, 1756.	"	——— son of Oswell.
Oct. 6, 1759.	"	Mary, dau. of Oswald.
May 31, 1736.	Everington,	Mary, dau. of John.
Nov. 7, 1716.	Everitt,	John, son of James.
July 22, 1746.	Eves,	Oswald, son of Oswald.
Mar. 14, 1721–2.	Evett,	———
May 19, 1731.	Evitt,	John.
Nov. 13, 1754.	Ewing,	John.
April 9, 1736.	Ewins,	Susannah, wife of John. Poor.
Feb. 15, 1711–12.	Eyer,	Charles, son of John and Susannah.
Oct. 6, 1716.	Eyers,	Edward, son of John and Susannah.
Dec. 21, 1729.	Eyres,	John.
Oct. 18, 1715.	Eyris,	John, son of John and Susannah.
April 24, 1739.	Fagan,	Mary. From widow Johns.
Jan. 19, 1746–7.	"	Mary, dau. of Henry.
Jan. 26, 1752.	"	Henry.
Nov. 4, 1756.	"	——— son of Henry.
May 3, 1718.	Fagune,	Ann, dau. of Thomas and Elizabeth.
Jan. 5, 1752.	Falknar,	Mary, wife of William.
April 26, 1749.	Falkner,	John, son of William.
July 23, 1752.	"	Mary, dau. of Lester.
Feb. 11, 1755.	"	Mary, dau. of William.
June 14, 1756.	"	——— dau. of William.
Aug. 10, 1759.	"	Mary, dau. of William.
Oct. 31, 1733.	Fallowfield,	John.
July 12, 1750.	Fare,	Isaac, son of Isaac.
Aug. 29, 1754.	"	Isaac, son of Isaac.
Nov. 10, 1756.	"	John.
Nov. 1, 1745.	Farmar,	Mary, wife of Dr. Richard.
Sept. 7, 1747.	"	Anne, dau. of Doctor Richard.
April 5, 1748.	"	John, son of Doctor Richard.

July 30, 1742.	Farmer,	Isaac, son of Edward.
Aug. 10, 1747.	"	Susannah, dau. of Edward.
Oct. 17, 1755.	"	Edward.
Oct. 6, 1759.	"	John, son of the Widow.
Aug. 2, 1735.	Farnum,	John.
Jan. 11, 1732–3.	Faro,	Cuthbert.
Oct. 12, 1744.	Farquehar,	John.
Dec. 12, 1736.	Farrel,	Mary Ann, dau. of Canida.
Nov. 12, 1750.	"	William, son of William.
July 20, 1729.	Farrow,	Martha, dau. of Samuel.
Mar. 28, 1757.	Fasch,	John Rudolph.
Oct. 1, 1741.	Faulkner,	James, son of William.
June 17, 1759.	"	Lester, son of Lester.
Jan. 6, 1742–3.	Feagan,	John, son of Thomas. Swedes'
Aug. 28, 1756.	Feast,	Bazil. [Ground.
Nov. 6, 1759.	Felton,	Abraham, son of Thomas.
April 1, 1733.	Fenbigh,	Elizabeth, wife of John.
July 1, 1747.	Fenton,	Mary, dau. of Robert.
July 7, 1743.	Fenwick,	John.
Sept. 6, 1734.	Ferguson,	Doctor John.
Mar. 2, 1728–9.	Fetters,	Thomas.
Oct. 26, 1738.	Fettors,	Mary.
Mar. 10, 1730–1.	Ffaro,	Right, son of Samuel.
Oct. 13, 1731.	Ffisher,	John. Mariner from Ireland.
April 17, 1731.	Ffluin,	Elizabeth, dau. of John.
June 1, 1752.	Fidchet,	John, son of Thomas.
May 16, 1741.	Field,	Jonathan.
Sept. 13, 1747.	"	Benjamin.
May 26, 1750.	"	Rachel, wife of Robert.
Nov. 16, 1709.	Fife,	Mary, dau. of Edward and Eli-
May 25, 1712.	"	Edward. [zabeth.
June 28, 1729.	Finch,	John, son of Daniel.
Aug. 25, 1733.	"	Daniel.
Feb. 7, 1748–9.	Finley,	Mary.
Aug. 7, 1712.	Finney,	Samuel.
Feb. 12, 1721–2.	"	Mary.
Aug. 20, 1746.	"	Rachel, dau. of Charles.
Feb. 3, 1712–3.	Fisher,	William, son of Edward and Elizabeth.
July 9, 1727.	"	Sarah, dau. of Thomas and Eli-
Feb. 9, 1737–8.	"	Elizabeth. [zabeth.
July 15, 1742.	"	Mary, dau. of William.
Aug. 26, 1743.	"	Margret, wife of Thomas.
Aug. 14, 1744.	"	Sarah, dau. of William.
Aug. 6, 1747.	"	John, son of Thomas.
June 9, 1748.	"	John, son of William.

May 9, 1750.	Fisher,	John.
Feb. 9, 1750–1.	"	Mary, wife of Thomas.
April 13, 1751.	"	William.
June 29, 1756.	"	——— wife of Thomas.
Aug. 12, 1756.	"	——— dau. of Thomas.
Aug. 25, 1756.	"	——— dau. of Samuel.
Feb. 9, 1758.	"	Mary, wife of Thomas.
July 6, 1756.	Fitchet,	Thomas.
Jan. 26, 1757.	"	Thomas.
Feb. 28, 1734–5.	Fitzakerlin,	Henry, son of Henry.
Nov. 25, 1736.	"	Ann, dau. of Henry.
Nov. 27, 1736.	"	Mary, dau. of Henry.
May 6, 1737.	Fitzharris,	Sylvester, son of John.
Oct. 10, 1738.	"	John, son of John.
Jan. 13, 1741–2.	"	Jonas, son of John.
July 25, 1746.	Fitz Harris,	Peter, son of John.
Aug. 2, 1752.	"	John.
June 2, 1731.	Fitzpatrick,	Hugh, son of Hugh.
Jan. 7, 1723–4.	Fizy,	John.
June 6, 1741.	Flahanan,	John.
Dec. 13, 1752.	Fleason,	Catharine, wife of Plunket.
July 4, 1742.	Fleeson,	William, son of Plunket.
Aug. 7, 1747.	"	James, son of Plunket.
May 2, 1752.	"	William, son of Plunket.
April 5, 1712.	Fleming,	Patrick. [Hannah.
Mar. 11, 1725–6.	"	Thomas, son of Thomas and
Nov. 28, 1728.	"	Benjamin, son of Thomas.
Aug. 15, 1733.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Daniel.
Dec. 10, 1728.	Flemming,	Thomas.
Aug. 26, 1747.	"	Hester, dau. of Merchall.
Feb. 15, 1750–1.	"	Robert, son of Michael.
Sept. 30, 1756.	"	——— dau. of Michael.
April 7, 1736.	Fletcher,	Elizabeth, dau. of John.
Nov. 25, 1759.	"	Nathan.
Jan. 21, 1746–7.	Fling,	Mary, dau. of Matthew.
June 7, 1751.	"	George, son of Owen.
June 16, 1752.	"	Marbe, wife of George.
Aug. 12, 1752.	"	John, son of John.
Feb. 25, 1753.	"	George.
Nov. 13, 1756.	"	John.
Aug. 20, 1758.	"	Hannah.
Oct. 11, 1759.	"	Robert, son of John.
Oct. 15, 1759.	"	John, son of John.
Mar. 26, 1734–5.	Flood,	Anthony, son of Patrick.
Aug. 12, 1746.	"	Samuel, son of Patrick.
Oct. 24, 1751.	"	Septimus, son of Patrick.

July 29, 1736.	Flower,	Mary, dau. of Joseph.
Oct. 13, 1736.	"	Joseph, son of Joseph. Swedes'
Dec. 13, 1726.	Floyd,	Heugh. [Ground.
July 17, 1742.	"	Edmund, son of James.
Oct. 11, 1736.	Fogo,	Capt. David.
Aug. 13, 1759.	Folder,	John, son of Joseph.
Aug. 23, 1751.	Forbes,	Mary, dau. of Alexander.
Aug. 23, 1751.	"	Anne, dau. of Alexander.
Jan. 26, 1752.	"	Alexander.
Mar. 10, 1759.	"	Brigadier-General.
Oct. 13, 1739.	Ford,	Richard. Beg'd.
Jan. 29, 1750–1.	"	Mary.
Aug. 30, 1752.	"	John.
Feb. 1, 1754.	"	Mary Ann, dau. of John.
June 24, 1755.	Fordham,	——— wife of William.
April 3, 1752.	Forseyth,	William.
July 21, 1747.	Forster,	Joseph, son of George.
June 26, 1752.	"	Hannah.
Aug. 31, 1757.	"	——— son of Thomas.
Sept. 12, 1710.	Forten,	Ann, dau. of William and Mary. [Mary.
Aug. 26, 1714.	Fortune,	Mary, dau. of William and
Oct. 28, 1717.	"	Lydia, dau. of William and Mary.
April 13, 1736.	"	Elizabeth, wife of William.
Aug. 3, 1732.	Foster,	John, son of James.
Feb. 10, 1735–6.	"	William, son of James.
April 19, 1752.	"	James.
July 14, 1759.	"	Ann, wife of Marmaduke.
Aug. 29, 1759.	"	——— dau. of Thomas.
Sept. 3, 1711.	Foulk,	Martha.
Nov. 5, 1710.	Foulkwas,	Eleanor, wife of Henry.
June 1, 1738.	Fowler,	Benjamin, son of Michael.
July 26, 1745.	"	George, son of Michael.
Oct. 23, 1747.	"	Thomas, son of Michael.
July 3, 1742.	Fox,	Elizabeth, dau. of Anthony.
Jan. 5, 1742–3.	"	Samuel, son of John.
Nov. 29, 1743.	"	Henry, son of John.
Nov. 11, 1748.	"	John, son of John.
Oct. 7, 1749.	"	John.
Nov. 29, 1756.	"	Mary.
Mar. 2, 1750–1.	Francis,	John, son of Tench, Esq.
July 1, 1752.	"	Samuel, son of George.
Nov. 2, 1756.	"	——— son of Thomas.
Aug. 16, 1758.	"	Tench.
Nov. 22, 1736.	Franklin,	Francis, son of Benjamin.

Feb. 7, 1748–9.	Franks,	Robert.
Mar. 26, 1734–5.	Frassier,	George, son of William.
July 7, 1734.	Frazier,	Hannah, wife of William.
July 23, 1754.	"	John.
Nov. 28, 1744.	Frederick,	George, son of John.
Oct. 6, 1750.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of John.
Oct. 5, 1720.	Freek,	John.
Nov. 17, 1721.	Freeman,	Charles.
Dec. 19, 1721.	"	Mary.
Aug. 1, 1733.	"	Mrs. Mary.
Sept. 14, 1757.	"	Peter.
July 21, 1752.	Freestone,	John, son of John.
April 25, 1733.	French,	Joseph, son of Nathaniel.
April 21, 1748.	"	Sarah, wife of John.
April 29, 1748.	"	John.
Nov. 20, 1747.	Fresh,	Thomas.
April 12, 1740.	Fretwell,	Ralph, son of Edward.
Jan. 22, 1741–2.	"	Edward.
Oct. 19, 1722.	Frogby,	Henry.
Aug. 12, 1733.	Frost,	Francis, son of John.
Nov. 13, 1748.	Fudge,	George, son of George.
Nov. 18, 1748.	"	Michael.
Mar. 24, 1759.	"	George.
April 10, 1731.	Fuller,	Mary.
Feb. 21, 1733–4.	"	Elizabeth, alias Bywater, poor.
April 10, 1717.	Gaddey,	George.
April 10, 1717.	"	Mary.
Nov. 16, 1727.	Gale,	Harriss, son of Nicholas.
Aug. 8, 1735.	"	Sarah, dau. of Nicholas.
Aug. 27, 1738.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Levan.
Dec. 19, 1741.	"	Aries, son of Nicholas.
July 22, 1746.	"	Elinor, dau. of Nicholas.
Aug. 16, 1755.	"	Arias.
Nov. 13, 1755.	"	Elenor.
May 23, 1723.	Gammon,	Daniel. From Jamaica.
Sept. 13, 1746.	Ganthony,	Jane, wife of Peter.
June 3, 1748.	Gapin,	Stephen.
Aug. 25, 1748.	"	Anne, dau. of ye widow.
July 26, 1734.	Garaway,	Jeremiah. Strangers' Ground.
Sept. 14, 1759.	Gard,	——— son of John.
July 26, 1741.	Gardiner,	Ann.
Dec. 22, 1736.	Gardner,	Elizabeth. From Capt. Oswald's.
Aug. 2, 1753.	"	John, son of Thomas.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

Inns in the Olden Times.—Many of our old-fashioned country inns are still used; but, alas! their glory has departed. How well I remember "Thurlow's," in the days of its busy greatness; well I remember how, when I was a boy, I lingered near its hospitable doors to see the handsome horses of the Reeside, Stockton & Stokes, Murdock & Sharp, and Janvier's rival lines of stage coaches changed, the smoking steeds detached by active hostlers, and the new relay of well-groomed horses substituted, and saw the "Stage driver," an important man in those days, with his great coat of many capes, and long whip; the well-dressed travellers sauntering about, talking and smoking after their meal, waiting for the stage. Oft have I peeped into the small, clean bar-room, in the centre of which stood a large coal stove (in winter) in a large sand box, that served as a huge spittoon. In one corner of the room stood a semicircular bar, with its red railings reaching to the ceiling, into whose diminutive precincts the jolly landlady could scarcely get her buxom person, while her husband, with his velveteen shooting-coat, with its large buttons and its many pockets, excited my intense admiration. At his heels there were always two or three handsome setter dogs, of the finest breed, and well trained. Sometimes I got a glimpse of the southwest room. This was the parlor; back of it was a room where travellers wrote their letters; and back of the bar was a cosy little room, mine hostess' sanctum, into which only special friends were admitted. All these are now one large American bar-room.

In reading accounts of the old English inns of coaching days, my mind involuntarily reverts to "Thurlow's," for there on the walls were hanging the quaint old coaching and hunting prints imported from England, and around the house was "Boots," and the "Hostler," and the "pretty Waiting maid with rosy cheeks," all from Old England. But I must away to school, or Caleb Peirce will thrash me. The horses are all hitched, the passengers are "all aboard," the driver has taken his seat (the guard is blowing his horn, having taken one inside), is gathering up his many reins; now he feels for his whip, flourishes it over his four-in-hand, making a graceful curve with its lash, but taking care not to touch his horses; but does it with a report like a rifle shot, the hostlers jump aside, and with a bound and a rush, the coach is off for Washington or Philadelphia, carrying perchance within it Clay, Webster, or Calhoun.

And of a winter's evening when I have stolen out from home, I have passed the "Tavern," and seen seated around its cheerful fire the magnates of the town, telling stories of other days (as I now could tell their names). And sometimes peeping through the green blinds, I have seen a quiet game of whist going on; perhaps it was "all-fours," or else a game of checkers or dominoes, but now such things are out of date, or else the times are out of joint, and the good old days of Adam and of Eve have passed away forever.—*From John Hill Martin's History of Chester.*

The Washington and Franklin Pews in Christ Church.—Some inquiries having arisen regarding the precise location of these pews, a Committee of the Vestry was appointed in 1863 by the Rector, Dr. Dorr, con-

sisting of the two Wardens, Messrs. Edward L. Clark and James C. Booth, to inquire into the subject, with a view of having accurately defined their localities. These gentlemen gave much examination to the subject, and after comparing the church records, and conferring with some members of the parish who had either personal knowledge or reliable tradition in the matter, made a report, which is as follows, and which has not hitherto been made public:—

CHRIST CHURCH VESTRY ROOM,
Wednesday, 17 February, 1864.

The Committee on ascertaining the position of the Washington and Franklin Pews in order that some designating plate might be affixed to the same, would respectfully report that they have carefully examined the plans and records of the Church, and have arrived at the following conclusions:—

The pew occupied by Dr. Franklin is evidently the one at present numbered 25, centre aisle. On the ground plan of the Church in 1760 it was numbered 59, and his name appears in the Pew Books of the Church as a renter of three sittings in this pew until the time of his death in 1790. In all probability he was an occupant for many years previous to 1760, but as the Pew Books are not to be found earlier than that date, the Committee can give no data relative to it. His name, however, appears in the minutes of vestry as early as 1739, as showing his interest in the Church at that early date. His name then appears as a subscriber to the fund to be raised for the purpose of finishing the new church building; and again, in 1751, he subscribes for building the steeple, and purchasing the bells. In 1752 the Vestry appointed him one of thirteen managers of a lottery for raising money to finish the steeple, and purchase a chime of bells, and the next year he received a similar appointment from the Vestry. The Committee would, therefore, infer that he occupied the pew during these successive years. In 1790, the year of Dr. Franklin's death, the pew was transferred to his son-in-law, Richard Bache.

The pew occupied by General Washington was a large double pew, which the Committee consider as embraced in a line comprising the present pews, Nos. 13 and 11, centre aisle, extending seven inches into pew No. 9, not including, however, the end of pew No. 11, next to the column which should end at the same north line as the pews Nos. 9 and 13, thus forming the square pew as occupied by the President.

The minutes of the Vestry of 26 November, 1790, state that the Committee appointed to provide a pew in Christ Church for the President of the United States, report that they have obtained a double pew in the middle aisle of said Church by the removal of the former occupants. In this business they have promised the several families who have been removed from their sittings that they are to be reinstated, whenever the public use, to which the said pew is now applied, shall be discontinued.

The pew was regularly occupied by President Washington and his family for the six following years, when, the seat of Government being about to be transferred to Washington, he withdrew to his residence at Mount Vernon, and the pew was thus vacated.

In 1797 the pew was offered to President Adams, and, as it was but little used by him, the following resolution was offered at a meeting of the Vestry on the 24th April, 1797.

"A preamble and resolution were proposed, and laid over till the next meeting, to the effect that, as the President's pew will only be occasionally occupied by the President of the United States—

"*Resolved*, That the Right Reverend Dr. White be requested to make use of the same, reserving the right of accommodating the President of the United States at such times as he shall choose to attend."

In the minutes of 27th May, 1801, there is another allusion to the pew, as follows:—

"A Committee was appointed to take into consideration the circumstances of the pew lately occupied by the President of the United States, in consequence of the removal of the Seat of Government to Washington, and to enquire whether the whole or part of the Pew cannot be reserved for a Rector's Pew."

No further mention appears to be made in the minutes with reference to it, but the Pew Books show that the pew was restored soon afterwards to its original condition, and occupied as two pews.

In confirmation of the views of the Committee they present the following extract from a report to the Vestry, dated 19 June, 1839, from Thomas H. White, son of the Right Reverend Dr. White, which is engrossed in the minute book:—

"'From my earliest recollection our family occupied the pew of my Grandmother Harrison in the North Aisle, during which time I have repeatedly heard my father mention his owning one-half of the Pew, Middle Aisle, in which Mrs. Morris, his sister, and family sat, his sister owning the other half. Adjoining this to the West, a large pew was made for President Washington, and this was accomplished by some alteration in the pews lower down. I recollect Mr. Dupuy was transferred further off. When General Washington ceased to be President, and left the city, at the particular request of the Vestry, my father's family occupied the pew, but after some years my father, recollecting the promise made to Mr. Dupuy and others that when a pew was not wanted for the President of the United States they should be restored to their original location, urged the Vestry to do this. It was accordingly done, and we then took possession of the pew Mr. Morris and family had occupied.'

"Bishop White's pew as stated in the above report is embraced in the pews at present numbered 7 and 9.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

EDWARD L. CLARK,
PHILADELPHIA, 17 February, 1864. JAMES C. BOOTH."

In 1836 the present modern style of pew was substituted for the original square or box pew, and numbered, beginning at the eastern end of the middle aisle, the uneven numbers running on the north side. Within a few years past a new system of numbering was adopted, by which the pews referred to in the above report as Nos. 7, 9, 11, and 13, are known as Nos. 52, 54, 56, and 58, and the pew then No. 25 is now No. 70. T. H. M.

YORKTOWN, Jan. 21, 1778.

BENJAMIN RUSH TO JAMES SEARLE.—DEAR SIR: True Whigs like true Christians always love one another. This is the only apology I shall make for troubling you with this letter. The Congress have concluded to detain Mr. Burgoyne and his army till the convention is confirmed by the Court of Britain. The reasons they intend to give to the public for this measure are as follows: 1. He refused to deliver up the accoutrements of his soldiers, although by the articles of capitulation, they have ever been included in the word *arms*. 2. He has refused to have a descriptive list taken of his men. 3. Gen. Carleton has violated the convention by compelling the Canadians who returned upon parole to take up arms. It is even suspected, and that not without reason, that Burgoyne intended to have sailed for Philadelphia instead of Great Britain, and that the 7000 arms lately taken at Wilmington were intended for *his* men. A packet from our Commissioners in France has been opened, and the dispatches replaced with blank paper. This State trick smells too strong of villany to have been perpetrated any where but

on the other side of the water. There is as yet a simplicity and stupidity, even in the wickedness of the rascals of this country. An American villain would have stolen the whole packet, and thereby have given the express an opportunity of returning for a duplicate of his dispatches. It is in vain *now* for the Court of Britain to hold out to the world the pacific disposition and assurance of the Court of France. The manner of stealing our dispatches (perhaps at a great risque and an enormous expence) shows that they placed no dependence upon the declarations of that Court. They have acknowledged to the nation and to the whole world that they are a set of lyars. I am so deeply persuaded that all things work together for the good of our cause, that I have no doubt but the loss of that packet will appear hereafter to have been as necessary for the safety and happiness of this country, as the loss of Ticonderoga was last summer for the destruction of Gen[l] Burgoyne's army. My business in this noisy, crowded town is to request a dismission from the hospitals. The Congress will not grant it till I point out the abuses which prevail in them. Next Monday is set apart for that purpose. I expect, if not *banished* for the negligence, inhumanity, injustice, &c., which have prevailed in our hospitals during the last campaign, to retire to a small farm in the neighbourhood of Princetown, where I shall remain till I can get back to Philad[a]. If I can carry with me a single continental dollar, with as much cloathing as will cover my dear wife and boy, together with our *liberty*, I shall be satisfied. One of my marks you know of a good Whig is that he must not grow rich during the war. One of yours is that he cannot be a good Whig unless he grows poor during the war. I shall be a Whig of the first magnitude if measured by your scale. I left Mrs. Rush and the whole family of women in good health about three weeks ago. They would be happy in a visit from you in the spring. With best compliments to Mrs. Searle, I am, my dear friend, your affectionate Hble. servant.

B. Rush.

Franklin and Hutton.—The following letters written by Benjamin Franklin to James Hutton, a well-known book publisher of London, and a member of the Moravian Church, are still preserved. It is quite probable that these two friends first became personally acquainted in 1757, when Franklin was sent to England as agent for the Province of Pennsylvania. While on a visit to Germany, in December of 1777, and after his return to London in January following, Hutton had been corresponding with Franklin, who was then Minister to the Court of France, on the subject of the missions of the Moravian Church in America, claiming the protection of the Government; and, as it appears from many of his letters, endeavoring to bring about a reconciliation between the mother country and her colonies. "Anything short of absolute Independency," writes Hutton, "would almost be practicable, and could take place."

Passy, 1st February, 1778.

"My Dear Old Friend: You desired, that if I had no proposition to make, I would at least give my advice. I think that it is Ariosto who says 'that all things lost on earth are to be found in the moon;' on which somebody remarked, 'that there must be a great deal of good advice in the moon.' If so, there is a good deal of mine, formerly given and lost in this business. I will, however, at your request, give a little more, but without the least expectation that it will be followed; for none but God can at the same time give good counsel, and wisdom to make use of it.

"You have lost by this mad war, and the barbarity with which it has been carried on, not only the government and commerce of America, and the public revenues and private wealth arising from that commerce; but what is more, you have lost the esteem, respect, friendship, and affection of all

that great and growing people, who consider you at present, and whose posterity will consider you, as the worst and wickedest nation upon earth. A peace you may undoubtedly obtain by dropping all your pretensions to govern us; and by your superior skill in huckstering negotiation, you may possibly make such an apparently advantageous bargain, as shall be applauded in your Parliament: but if you cannot, with the peace, recover the affections of that people, it will not be a lasting nor a profitable one, nor will it afford you any part of that strength which you once had by your union with them, and might (if you had been wise enough to take advice) have still retained.

"To recover their respect and affection, you must tread back the step you have taken. Instead of honouring and rewarding the American advisers and promoters of this war, you should disgrace them; with all those who have inflamed the nation against America by their malicious witness; and all the ministers and generals who have prosecuted the war with such inhumanity. This would show a national change of disposition, and a disapprobation of what had passed.

"In proposing terms, you should not only grant such as the necessity of your affairs may evidently oblige you to grant, but such additional ones as may show your generosity, and thereby domonstrate your good will. For instance, perhaps you might, by your treaty, retain all Canada, Nova Scotia, and the Floridas. But, if you would have a really friendly, as well as able ally in America, and avoid all occasion of future discord, which will otherwise be continually arising on your American frontiers, you should throw in those countries. And you may call it if you please an idemnification for the burning of their towns, which indemnification will, otherwise, be some time or other demanded.

"I know your people will not see the utility of such measures, and will never follow them, and even call it insolence and impudence in me to mention them. I have, however, complied with your desire, and am as ever,

Your affectionate friend,

B. Franklin."

In June, Hutton applied to Franklin for a [Protection] for the mission ship Good Intent, on her voyages to and from Labrador, which was readily given, accompanied by the following:—

Passy, 23d June, 1778.

"My dear old friend has here the paper he desired. We have had a marble monument made at Paris for the brave General Montgomery, which is gone to America. If it should fall into the hands of any of your cruisers, I expect you will exert yourself to get it restored to us, because I know the generosity of your temper, which likes to do handsome things, as well as to make returns. You see we are unwilling to *rob the hospital;* and we hope your people will be found as averse to *pillaging the dead.* Adieu.

Your affectionate friend

B. Franklin."

J. W. J.

Deaths of Prominent Personages Eighty Years ago.—On looking over some old newspaper files, I have culled the following:—

Lieut. James Collier, of the Pennsylvania Line, d. at Carlisle, Sept. 28, 1790.

Capt. Jeremiah Talbot, of the Pennsylvania Line, d. at Chambersburg, Jan. 17, 1791.

Matthew Irvin, Esq., Master of the Rolls, d. at Lancaster, March 18, 1800, aged 59.

Gen. Thomas Hartley, d. at York, Dec. 21, 1800, aged 52.

Col. Wm. McFarlane, d. at Big Spring, Cumb. Co., Jan. 29, 1802.

Robert McKean, son of Gov. McKean, d. at Philadelphia, June 8, 1802.
Capt. Worsley Emes, d. at Philadelphia, July 29, 1802.
Col. Samuel Nelson, of York Co., d. Nov. 8, 1802.
William Wilson, Esq., Representative in the Pennsylvania Legislature, d. at Lycoming, May 17, 1803.
Dr. Charles Nesbit, President of Dickinson College, d. at Carlisle, Jan. 18, 1804.
Wm. Sellers, printer, d. at Philadelphia, Feb. 4, 1804, aged 79.
Mrs. Ann Buchanan, wf. of Andrew Buchanan, Esq., of Baltimore, and second dau. of Gov. McKean, d. June 3, 1804.
Samuel Edminster, d. at Lewistown, June 29, 1804, aged 84.
Mrs. Ann Proctor, wf. of Capt. Francis Proctor, d. at Birmingham, June 26, 1804, aged 53.
Michael Hillegas, d. at Philadelphia, Sept. 29, 1804, aged 76.
Rev. Hugh Morrison, d. at Sunbury, Sept. 15, 1804.
Brig.-Gen. Benjamin Mills, d. in Mt. Joy twp., Lanc. Co., Sept. 1804.
William Moore, Esq., one of the associate-judges of Cumberland Co., d. at Carlisle, Aug. 31, 1804.
Rev. John Blair Linn, D. D., d. in Philadelphia, Aug. 30, 1804.
Morgan J. Rees, prothonotary of Somerset Co., d. at Somerset, Nov. 7, 1804.
Dr. Robert Kennedy, d. at York, Dec. 8, 1804, aged 75.
Mrs. Sarah Ann Proctor, wife of Gen. Thomas Proctor, d. at Philadelphia, March 23, 1804, aged 35.
Gen. John Neville, d. at his seat in Montour's Island, near Pittsburgh, July 29, 1803, aged 72.
Zachariah Poulson, printer, d. at Philadelphia, Jan. 14, 1804, aged 67.
Dr. Joseph Priestley, d. at Northumberland, Feb. 6, 1804.
Wm. Palm, Esq., postmaster at Palmstown [Palmyra], d. March, 1804.
Gen. John A. Hanna, d. at Harrisburg, June 23, 1805, aged 44.
Col. Thomas Butler, d. Sept. 17, 1805, at the seat of Richard Butler, Esq., near New Orleans.
Samuel Miles, Esq., d. at his seat in Montgomery Co., Dec. 29, 1805.
Major Andrew Galbraith, d. in Cumberland Co., March 7, 1806, aged 54.
Gen. Thomas Proctor, d. at Philadelphia, March 16, 1806.
Edward Shippen, Chief-Justice of Pennsylvania, d. at Philadelphia, April 13, 1806, aged 78.
Samuel Laird, Esq., d. at Carlisle, Sept. 27, 1806, aged 74. W. H. E.

Queries.

Can any of your "genealogical readers" tell us who *Townsend White, of Philadelphia*, was, whose daughter *Anne* married in 1782 William Constable, at that time a resident of Philadelphia, but subsequently of New York, where he was a prominent merchant, and speculator in large tracts of land? It was for William Constable, that the full-length portrait of Washington was painted by Stuart, now owned by Mr. Peirrepont of Brooklyn. He was an intimate friend and partner of Robert Morris. Mrs. Constable's descendants claim that she was related to Bishop White. C. H. H.

A Fire Insurance Badge was taken from the Wharton House on its destruction in 1857, and is described in *Notes and Queries*, 14 August, 1875,

p. 128, as "of iron more than a foot high, about a foot broad, with the representation, in a raised figure, of a fire engine. Below are the letters F. I. Co." Mr. Cornelius Walford, in his *Insurance Cyclopædia*, refers to this in his article on the History of Fire Insurance, but is unable to identify the Company, if an English Insurance Company. It is unlike any badge in use by the earlier American companies, the Contributionship (1752) having on their badge four hands clasping at the wrist, and the Mutual Assurance (1784) having alone a Green Tree; in both these cases the Companies derive their popular name from their well-known badges. T. H. M.

Secession in the Assembly of 1787.—Where can Judge Brackenridge's verses on this affair be found? Was there a collection of Brackenridge's poetical effusions ever printed? W. H. E.

Col. Thomas Proctor.—Can any of your readers give me any information concerning Col. Proctor, of Philadelphia, who served in the army of the Revolution? I am desirous of knowing something of his military record, and if he left any descendants. R. M.

Journals of the Argo.—In a letter of Franklin's printed in the second volume of the Historical Magazine, page 163 (N. Y. 1858), I find the following passage regarding the attempt made by the citizens of Philadelphia to discover the Northwest passage in 1753: "Our vessel named the Argo is gone on the N. W. Passage, and the Captain has borrowed my journals of the last Voyage, except one Vol. of a broken set, which I send you." This letter is dated April 12, 1753; the first voyage of the Argo was made in that year, another attempt was made by the same vessel the year following. To what Journals does Franklin allude? S. E. M.

Major White.—Mr. Editor. Can you give me any information regarding Major White, who Watson, in the Annals of Philadelphia, tells us was an aid to Sullivan, and died of wounds received at the battle of Germantown? Neither the letters of Washington nor Sullivan mention White, an omission that it is hardly likely either would have made had the facts been as given by Watson. Mr. W—— also says that White was an Irishman by birth; was a very fine looking man, and from the care he gave to his dress was known as "beau White;" that he had settled in Philadelphia, and was the father of the late Judge John M. White, of Woodbury, N. J. W. J. B.

Gen. John Barker.—Who are the descendants of Gen. John Barker? We believe his son, Major James Nelson Barker, died without issue.
H. B.

Franklin to Mrs. Bache.—In the *Letters to Benjamin Franklin by his Family and Friends* (N. Y. 1859), there is a letter from Mrs. Bache to her father, dated Jan. 17, 1779, in which she speaks of having a piece of American silk, which she intended sending to him for the Queen. I have been told that the answer to this letter was printed in a Philadelphia newspaper about two years ago. That Franklin reproved his daughter for her extravagance, and told her that as the silk was spotted he had had it dyed, and made up into a suit of clothes for himself. Can any of the readers of the Magazine furnish us with a copy of the letter of Franklin? F. D. S.

Daniel, of St. Thos., Jenifer, is the signature of one of the Maryland Delegates to the Constitutional Convention of 1787. What is the meaning of the "of St. Thos."? Searle.

Gov. Patrick Gordon.—Watson, in his "Annals" (vol. ii. p. 274), in speaking of Governor Patrick Gordon, who died in this city in 1736, asks, "Do any know where he was buried?" As Mr. Hazard, in his continuation of Watson, does not answer the question, will you permit me to repeat it in the Penn'a Mag.? J. P. H.

Sir Samuel Cunard, the founder of the famous steamship line which bears his name, is said by Burke to have been the son of Abraham Cunard, of Philadelphia. Is anything known of this Abraham Cunard, or of his ancestors? Herald.

Stephen, Adam and Alexander.—There appear to have been two officers of the name of Stephen in General Braddock's army—Adam and Alexander. The subsequent career of the former is well known. I cannot find anything more about the latter. What became of him, and was he a relative of the first named? Alleganey.

Washington Portrait.—Any one having an impression of a full-length Portrait of Washington, engraved in Mezzotinto by Charles Wilson Peale, and published at Philadelphia in 1780, is requested to communicate with the undersigned, who is engaged in preparing a work on the engraved Portraits of Washington. W. S. Baker.

Parke, Kendle or Kendall.—Have any of the readers of the Penn'a Magazine genealogies of the Parke, and Kendle or Kendall families, of Montgomery County? Answers directed to the care of the Editors of the Magazine will oblige. R. S.

Adams.—In the narrative of Col. James Smith, concerning his captivity among the Indians from 1755 to 1759 (pub. in Lexington, Kentucky, 1799) mention is made of "Mr. George Adams on Reed Creek."

Col. Smith, at the date of his capture, about May, 1755, was a resident of "Conococheague," Pennsylvania, and returned there after his release, but subsequently (1788) removed to Bourbon Co., Kentucky.

Reed Creek, upon which this George Adams resided, was evidently in Pennsylvania. Can any reader inform me who George Adams was? *i. e.*, as to ancestry and place of nativity. Nelson D. Adams,
Washington, D. C.

Replies.

Col. John Butler (vol. ii. pp. 349, 473; vol. iii. p. 120).—In the *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, by Thomas Jones, Edited by Edward F. de Lancey, and lately published by the Historical Society of that State, we find the following: "Col. John Butler is the son of a Lieutenant Butler, a native of Ireland, who came to N. Y. in 1711. He was not a far distant relation of the Ormond family. The army then sent out was for the reduction of Canada. It was in the reign of Queen Anne. He was even then a Lieutenant. The expedition failed . . . . Butler exchanged his Lieutenancy from a marching regiment into one of the Independent Companies stationed in the Colony of New York. By making

purchases of the Indians, he accumulated in the course of his life a large and valuable real estate. One of his purchases in the county of Albany, about seven miles from Johnson Hall, contains above 60,000 acres. It is known by the name of Butler's Purchase. He was only one of the patentees, though he had a considerable share . . . . . Butler settled upon, cultivated and improved his part. He had two sons, Walter, and the present Colonel, both of whom he also settled here, and gave to each a large farm. This purchase was in the Mohawk country, and the old gentleman, as well as his two sons, had considerable influence with the Six Nations. The old gentleman died in 1760, a Lieutenant only. He was nearly ninety, and had been seventy years a Lieutenant . . . . The Lieutenant being an Irishman, Mr. William Johnson, afterwards the Colonel, the General, and the Baronet, upon settling in the neighborhood of Butler, warmly attached himself to him and his family. In 1755 Mr. Johnson, then a Militia Colonel, was made a General, and appointed as Commander-in-Chief of an expedition against Crown Point. He procured commissions for the two brothers, Walter and the present Colonel, as Captains in the Indian Corps which attended him upon this service.'

John Talbot not the First Bishop in North America.—(*For the affirmative statement, see this Magazine, vol.* III. *page* 32.) For over 1500 years no person has been recognized as a bishop whose consecration was performed by less than three bishops. John Talbot was consecrated in 1722 by Bishop Ralph Taylor and Robert Welton; but the latter was not a bishop, his consecration having been previously performed by Taylor alone; consequently Talbot was not lawfully consecrated. A note appended to the above-mentioned article, stating that Bishop Carroll, of the Roman Catholic Church, was consecrated by only one bishop, was evidently added as a tacit argument in Talbot's favor, but it lacks force since the two cases occurred in jurisdictions having no official communication, the acts of the one not being recognized by the other.

The consecration of Talbot was, therefore, not valid, since it was contrary to the Ecclesiastical law; it was not canonical, as it did not conform to the laws of the Church of England; it was not even recognized by the other Non-jurors—in the words of Percival, "Welton and Talbot were not recognized by the rest of the Non-jurors, having been consecrated without their approval." This sentence, omitted by the writer of the above-named article, immediately precedes the quotation on page 32 of this Magazine.

The occasion which gave rise to this claim in behalf of Talbot was the finding of an old will, "having for its seal a mitre," and dated eight years after Talbot's death, who could not, therefore, have been responsible for its use. And in view of the above facts, and the author's own admission that "There is absolutely nothing that can be shown beyond question to have been on his part an Episcopal act." since Talbot, good and pious as he may have been, was neither a lawful bishop, nor recognized so by others, nor claimed that title for himself, it is hard to perceive why such a claim should, at this late day, be advanced in his behalf. R. B.

Frances Slocum (vol. iii. p. 115).—In reply to Mr. Slocum, it may be stated that the Journal of Col. Proctor as published in the 4th volume of the new series of Pennsylvania Archives, was printed from a copy made in the office of the Secretary of War, and forwarded to Gov. Mifflin. *The names were printed as in this copy.* The original is probably at Washington—and only by a personal inspection could it be ascertained whether the clerks in the department correctly copied it. It is a very easy matter to blunder over a name, and it is frequently noticed that well-educated persons sometimes write the feminine Frances with an i. W. H. E.

Daniel Dulany's Tomb (vol. iii. p. 3), I visited on 4 February last, under the guidance of the Rev. Dr. Hodges, Rector of St. Paul's, and made a copy of the inscription, which is as follows:—

In Memory of
The Honble Daniel Dulany, Esq^{r},
Barrister-at-Law,
Who with great Integrity and Honor
for Many years
Discharged the important Appointments
of
Commissary-General,
Secretary of Maryland,
and one of
The Proprietary's Council.
In private life
He was Beloved,
and
Died Regretted
March 17th, 1797,
Aged 75 years and 8 months.
Rebecca, his Widow,
Daughter of the late Benjamin Tasker, Esq^{r}, of Annapolis,
Caused this Tomb to be erected.

On the upper end of the slab of this altar tomb there is inserted an oval white stone, a softer marble than the rest of the structure, upon which must have been originally traced the Dulany Arms, the lines of which are all now, excepting the border, weather-worn away. Alden gives this inscription, not with literal correctness, and even with less accuracy than the *Memoirs of the Dead, and Tombs' Remembrancer*, quoted by Mr. Latrobe on p. 3 of the present volume of the Penn'a Magazine, in his *American Epitaphs*, vol. v. p. 126, but the name does not appear in his Index. The Records of St. Paul's show his burial was on 21 March, 1797.

The Arms of Dulany are seen on his Mother's Tomb at St. Ann's. Annapolis, impaled with Smith, and are identical with those quoted. Gideon De Launé, of Blackfriars, London, in 1612. She died 18 March, 1737, aged 47 years.

His Father was first cousin to Dr. Patrick Delany, Dean of Down, the intimate friend of Dean Swift, who died in May, 1768, in the 83d year of his age. It was subsequent to the year 1710 that Daniel Dulany, Senior, changed the spelling of his name to Dulany.

Daniel Dulany was the eldest son of his parents, the other brothers being Dennis, d. s. p., and Walter, Commissary-General of Maryland, who d. 20 Sept. 1773, and whose death is noticed in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* of 4 October, 1773. By the father's third marriage, with Henrietta Maria, d. of Col. Philemon Lloyd, and widow of Samuel Chew, there was a third brother, Lloyd, who received his fatal wound in the duel with the Rev. Bennet Allen, 18 June, 1782, in Hyde Park, dying 21 June, in Park Street, Grosvenor Square, London. See *Political Magazine*, London, July, 1782; also *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1782, p. 312. In 1767 and '68, as Rector of St. Ann's, Annapolis, Bennet Allen had the Dulany family among his parishioners; it was at the close of his ministry here, that the Rev. Ethan Allen quaintly says of him: "He got into another very serious quarrel it is said with Daniel Dulany, Esq., who visited him with personal chastisement in the street of Annapolis," *Historical Notices of St. Ann's Parish, in Anne Arundel County*, Baltimore, 1857, p. 77. This represents Mr. Dulany in

another phase of character than those so well portrayed by Mr. Latrobe in his *Biographical Sketch.*

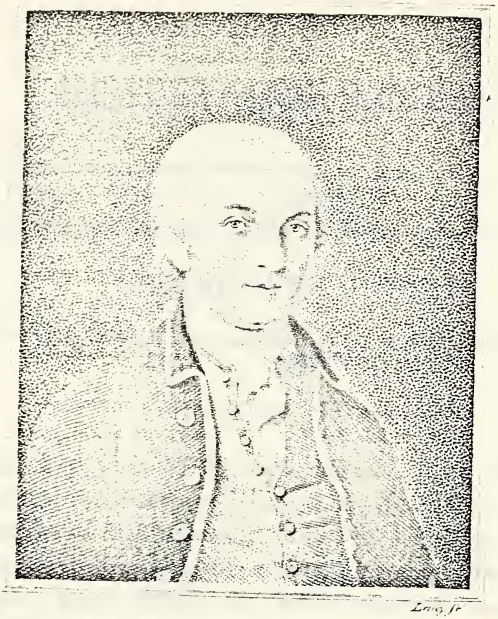
Immediately at the side of Hon. Daniel Dulany's tomb lie the remains of Edward Biddle, of Pennsylvania, who d. in Baltimore, when on a visit in 1799, and whose epitaph is given by Alden, v. 125. T. H. M.

"Appleby Manor" (vol. iii. p. 117).—In reply to the queries propounded by W. H. E. in the last number of the Magazine, I have to state: "Appleby Manor" *is* the "Manor of Kittanning." It was surveyed 28 March, 1769, on a warrant to the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, dated 23d February next preceding. In Smith's forthcoming History of Armstrong County, Pennsylvania, there is an extended sketch of it, and of the varied and deeply-interesting historical events that have occurred within its limits at different periods in the past. It appears from his researches, that the name of "Appleby" was adopted by Alexander Cobran, who then owned the southern, and Thomas and Robert Duncan, who then owned the northern, purpart of that tract, but just when and why it was adopted is not yet manifest to that author. R. W. S.

Kittanning, Pa., 2 May, 1879.

Byers, John (vol. ii. pp. 111, 230).—He was born in Derry Township, Lancaster, now Dauphin County, in the year 1735, and died at Carlisle on the 20th of February, 1788. He was not a physician. The account given by C. P. W. is, with these additions, in the main correct, save that he was not *the* John Buyers of Northumberland County. W. H. E.

Washington and Lafayette to J. F. Mercer (vol. iii. p. 116).—The letters of Washington and Lafayette to J. F. Mercer that your correspondent M. makes inquiry about will be found in the "Pennypacker Reunion," p. 39.



Dr. JOHN COCHRAN

Director General of Military Hospitals &c.

John Cochran

THE

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OF

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

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DOCTOR JOHN COCHRAN,

DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF THE HOSPITALS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1781.

BY WALTER L. C. BIDDLE.

ABOUT the year 1570, there crossed over from Paisley in Scotland to the north of Ireland one John Cochran. He was a clansman of the powerful house of Dundonald, and of kin with its noble head, and for several generations his descendants were born, tilled the land, married and died in the home of their adoption. Many were of the gentry; most were yeomen, but all led sober, upright, and righteous lives, feared God, and kept his Commandments. The family names were carefully handed down from sire to son; James the son of John was succeeded by John, who, in turn, was father of another James. Then came Robert, called "honest" to distinguish him from others of the same name. His sons were James, Stephen, and David, and these latter crossed the sea, and settled in Pennsylvania, where unmolested they might continue to worship in the faith of their fathers. James married his kinswoman, Isabella, the daughter of "deaf" Robert, and their children were Ann, Robert, James, John,

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Stephen, Jane, and George. Ann married the Reverend John Roan, or Rohan as it was indifferently spelled; Jane became the wife of the Reverend Alexander Mitchell; Robert died, leaving a daughter, Isabella; James died in April, 1768, preceded in his departure out of this world by his father James, who died in the autumn of 1766.

This is the race of the Cochrans from the period when they quitted their home in Scotland to the time when their bones were first laid in the New World.

James, Stephen, and David settled in Chester County, and laid out their farms near the rippling current of the Octorara. As appears from the records, James first resided in Sadsbury; in 1742 he purchased one hundred and thirty-five acres additional in the same township;[1] but it was not until the year 1745 that a large tract in Fallowfield, owned in common by the three brothers, was divided, and a patent issued by John, Thomas, and Richard Penn to James for three contiguous lots, aggregating four hundred and thirty acres.[2] This tract lay to the south of Stephen's and David's shares. Through the northern portion, and near to the northwestern boundary, dividing it from the land of Stephen, ran the Newcastle road, to-day called the Gap and Newport Turnpike. There the little village of Cochranville by its name perpetuates the traditions of the clan, whose pibroch and whose slogan have long ceased to sound on Scottish hills.

John Cochran was born in Sadsbury, Sept. 1st, 1730, and was educated at the grammar school of Dr. Francis Allison. He received his professional training in Lancaster, Pennsylvania; and that intimate knowledge of surgery and medicine, which distinguished him in later years, came to him first from his preceptor, Dr. Thompson.[3]

At the outbreak of the French and Indian war young Cochran had but recently finished his medical studies. He entered the service, however, as surgeon's mate, in the hos-

[1] Chester County Deed Book F, p. 628.

[2] Patent Book A, vol. 15, p. 299.

[3] Amer. Medical Biography; Thacher, Boston, 1828, p. 226.

pital department, and remained with the northern army until the close of the war.

Dr. Cochran, together with Major (afterwards General) Philip Schuyler, joined Bradstreet when he marched against Fort Frontenac in the summer of 1758, and the events of the northern campaign were the text-books of the school wherein he gained his technical education.[1]

It is hardly possible to present the character of a man, whose public life connected him with our national history, without reverting to the military episodes of the time during which he lived; but happily a pleasant and a natural break occurs in the sequence of the narrative, and enables us to turn to other and calmer scenes of Dr. Cochran's career.

On Dec. 4, 1760, he was united in marriage to Mrs. Gertrude Schuyler, by Dominie Westerlo of the Reformed Dutch Church at Albany.[2] That lady was the only sister of Major Philip Schuyler, and the widow of Peter Schuyler, whose grandfather, Peter, had been President of the Council of the Province of New York in 1719. By her first husband she had two children; one, Peter, who married, but died childless; the other, Cornelia, who married Walter Livingston, grandson of Robert Livingston, first lord of the manor of Livingston.

After his marriage Dr. Cochran removed to New Brunswick, N. J., and there continued to practise his profession, becoming one of the founders of the New Jersey Medical Society in 1766, and in November, 1769, succeeding Dr. Burnet as its President.[3]

During the close of the winter of 1776, he offered his services as a volunteer in the hospital department, and WASHINGTON recommended his name to the favorable notice of Congress in a letter written in the beginning of 1777. He spoke of Dr. Cochran's services as a volunteer, and of his experience during the French war.

On the 7th of April, 1777, Congress resumed the consideration of a report on the hospitals; and plans modelled after

[1] Amer. Med. Biography, page 227.
[2] Register of the Reformed Dutch Church, Albany.
[3] Hist. of Med. and Med. men in N. J.,—Wickes, p. 205.

those of the British Army having been proposed by Dr. Cochran and Dr. William Shippen, and approved by General Washington, were adopted upon that day. On the 11th of the same month, in pursuance of his Excellency's recommendation, Dr. Cochran was selected for the position of physician and surgeon-general of the army in the middle department.

During the period of holding this position, he was often called upon to bewail the wretched inefficiency which characterized the management of the hospital department. In a letter to Jonathan Potts, Purveyor-General to the hospitals, Dr. Cochran thus expressed himself.[1]

Morristown, March 18, 1780.

Dear Sir: I received your favor by Dr. Bond, and am extremely sorry for the present situation of the hospital finances. Our stores have all been expended for two weeks past, and not less than 600 regimental sick and lame, most of whom require some assistance, which being withheld, are languishing and must suffer.

I flatter myself you have no blame in this matter, but curse on him or them by whom this evil is produced. The vengeance of an offended Deity must overtake the miscreants sooner or later. It grieves my soul to see the poor, worthy, brave fellows pine away for want of a few comforts, which they have dearly earned.

I shall wait on his Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, and represent our situation, but I am persuaded it can have little effect, for what can he do? He may refer the matter to Congress, they to the Medical Committee, who will probably pow-wow over it awhile, and no more be heard of it. The few stores sent on by Dr. Bond in your absence are not yet arrived, I suppose owing to the badness of the roads. If they come they will give us some relief for a few weeks.

Compliments to all friends, and believe me,

Dear Sir, yours very sincerely,

JOHN COCHRAN.

In January, 1781, Dr. Shippen resigned the post of Director-General of the medical department of the army. Immediately afterwards Congress conferred upon Dr. Cochran the unsolicited appointment of Director-General of the Hos-

[1] Biographical sketch of Dr. Jonathan Potts, by Rev. Edward D. Neill, New England Hist. and Gen. Register.

pitals of the United States. Writing from New Windsor, Connecticut, on the third of February, he acknowledged having received a copy of the act of appointment.

SIR: I received your Excellency's Favor of the 18th of January yesterday, enclosing an Act of Congress appointing me Director of the Military Hospitals.

I thank Congress for this additional Mark of Honor conferred on me; and you, Sir, for the polite and obliging manner in which you were pleased to communicate the same.

If my past conduct in the station of Physician and Surgeon-General to the Army, which I have filled for near four years, has been acceptable to that Honorable Body, I hope my future endeavours to perform the duties of my new office, will not be less so.

As far as my abilities will enable me to execute the Trust reposed in me, they shall be most faithfully exercised, and whatever Errors may fall to my Lot, they will proceed from a want of Judgment and not from Intention * * * *

I have the Honor to be, with the utmost
Respect and Esteem, your Excellency's
Most Obedt. and very humble servant,
JOHN COCHRAN, D. M. H.

His Excellency, SAM'L HUNTINGDON, Esq.,
President of Congress.[1]

While the field of his usefulness had been broadened, his vigilance ceased not to regard the minor workings of the hospital department. Letter after letter he wrote, representing the insufficiency of the supplies of food and medicine, but entreaty, expostulation, and denunciation met with but meagre result. In a letter from New Windsor, in February, 1781, addressed to Abraham Clark, Chairman of the Medical Committee, he wrote: "Tho' we have few deaths, yet the poor fellows suffer for want of necessary supplies, which I hope will soon be afforded them, otherwise there will be little occasion for Physicians and Surgeons."[2]

On March 25th of the same year, after returning from Albany, he wrote to Thomas Bond, Purveyor of the Military Hospitals, "I am sorry to inform you that I found that hos-

[1] This letter is from Dr. Cochran's letter-book, now in possession of his grandson, Gen. John Cochrane, of N. Y.

[2] Ibid.

pital (at Albany) entirely destitute of all kinds of stores except a little vinegar, which was good for nothing, and frequently without Bread or Beef for many days, so that the Doctor under those circumstances was obliged to permit such of the patients, as could walk into town, to beg provisions among the inhabitants."[1] Again a line from a letter of April 2, 1781: "Neither myself, nor any of the Gentlemen who have served with me, have received a shilling from the Public in twenty-three months, which has, as you may reasonably suppose, reduced me to some difficulties."[2] In another letter to Abraham Clark, of April 30th, in the same year, "I have from all quarters," he relates, "the most melancholy complaints of the sufferings of the sick in the Hospitals, for want of stores and necessaries, that you can conceive, and unless some speedy remedy is applied, the consequences must be very fatal . . . . . As soon as my strength will enable me, I propose setting out for Philadelphia.

"On the 5th instant I was taken sick with a Pleurisy, which has confined me till yesterday, and has left me very weak."[3]

These extracts show plainly the condition in which the affairs of the American Government, relating to its hospital service, stood in the year 1781, while the multifariousness of the duties of Dr. Cochran are indicated by his other and more general correspondence. He quieted dissensions in the department; he composed the difficulties of individuals; he presented petitions for his subordinate officers; he attended not only to the general duties of his office, but made out returns of the sick in all the hospitals, which he submitted to the inspection of the Commander-in-Chief. And all this various labor was performed with cheerfulness in adversity, and courage amid danger.

He concluded a letter to his friend, Dr. Thomas Craick, in which, a few lines above, he had spoken of a "jaunt" up the North River, whither he had gone accompanying Mrs. Wash-

[1] Dr. Cochran's Letter-book. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

ington, with "my poor little boy lays ill of a fever."[1] While in camp, in the end of July, he begged Dr. Bond to send aid: "could you not, by advertisement, be able to procure a quantity of old *linnen* from the good ladies of your City? I was obliged after the last skirmish, when fifty men were wounded, to give every sheet I had in the world, but two, to make lint, &c. I dread the thoughts of an action, when we have it not in our power to relieve the distresses of the unfortunate."[2]

Turning from a view of the services of Dr. Cochran to his country during the arduous years of his connection with the army, it will be well worthy of attention to regard his civil life.

The aspect which his character then assumed was that of a man full of honor, enjoying in the seclusion of his home the friendship of many eminent contemporaries. He was on terms of intimacy with Washington, with Lafayette, with Wayne, with Paul Jones, and with many more. To him the great commander presented his camp furniture;[3] he received from "Mad Anthony" the latter's sword—the silver hilt of which was melted into goblets, and thus came down to his descendants; while the French hero sent him from France a gold watch of delicate movement.[4]

Much of his private correspondence has been preserved, and the closeness of the ties which bound him to Washington and to Lafayette cannot be further illustrated better than by the following letters.

West Point, August 16, 1779.

Dear Doctor: I have asked Mrs. Cochran and Mrs. Livingston to dine with me to-morrow; but ought I not to apprise you of their fare? As I hate deception, even when imagination is concerned, I will.

It is needless to premise that my table is large enough to hold the ladies—of this they had ocular demonstration yesterday. To say how it is usually covered, is rather more essential, and this shall be the purport of my letter.

Since my arrival at this happy spot, we have had a ham,

[1] Dr. Cochran's Letter-book. [2] Ibid.

[3] Now in the possession of Gen. Cochrane, of N. Y.

[4] See letter below from De Lafayette to Dr. Cochran.

sometimes a shoulder of bacon to grace the head of the table. A piece of roast beef adorns the foot, and a small dish of green beans—almost imperceptible—decorates the centre. When the cook has a mind to cut a figure, and this I presume he will attempt to-morrow, we have two beefsteak pies or dishes of crabs in addition, one on each side of the centre dish, dividing the space, and reducing the distance between dish and dish to about six feet, which without them would be nearly twelve apart. Of late, he has had the surprising luck to discover that apples will make pies; and it is a question if, amidst the violence of his efforts, we do not get one of apples, instead of having both of beef.

If the ladies can put up with such entertainment, and submit to partake of it on plates, once tin, but now iron, not become so by the labor of scouring, I shall be happy to see them.

Dear Sir, yours,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.[1]

Lafayette wrote from St. Jean d'Angeli in France, in August, 1779, and the expression *Doctor Bones* which occurred in his letter, not only testified to the terms of intimate regard in which the Marquis held Dr. Cochran, but had reference to the latter's well-remembered song, whose refrain "*Bones, bones, bones,*" charmingly rendered by his splendid voice, had so often cheered the lingering hours, by the camp-fire, of Washington's military family

"I feel very happy, my dear Doctor, in finding an occasion soon to tell you how I lament separation. It is, indeed, highly pleasing to me to be under so many obligations to you, because there is no gratitude in the world which can exceed the bounds of my affection for the good Dr. Bones—that name I shall ever give you—and kindly wish, and even ardently hope, you will before long hear from my own mouth. . . . . .

"My health, dear Doctor—that very health you have almost brought back from the other world—has been as strong and hearty as possible.

"As during my fit of illness, the watch I had then was of great use to you in feeling the pulse, I thought such a one might be convenient, which I have entrusted to the Chevalier de la Luzerne, and beg leave to present you with it. I did

[1] Irving's Life of Washington, 1861, vol. iii. p. 477.

fancy that adorning it with my heroic friend's picture would make it acceptable.

"Be so kind, my dear Sir, as to present my best respects to your lady, and my best compliments to your brother doctors and my brother officers of the army. Tell them how sincerely I love them—how much I desire to join them again. . . . . ."[1]

Upon the formation of the Society of the Cincinnati, founded "to perpetuate, as well the remembrance of the vast event, as the mutual friendships which have been formed under the pressure of common danger,"[2] Dr. Cochran became a member from the State of New York.[3] In 1790, upon the adoption of the new Constitution, President Washington having, to use his own words, "a cheerful recollection of his past services," and "reposing special confidence," etc., appointed him to fill the office of Commissioner of Loans for the State of New York. Shortly before his decease, a stroke of paralysis obliged him to resign this position, and to retire to his country-seat at Palatine in Montgomery County, New York, there to end his days.[4]

On the sixth day of April, 1807, at the ripe age of 76, his spirit passed away—the skilled hand was numbed, and the kindly heart had ceased to beat.

His widow survived him until the month of March, 1813, when she died in the 89th year of her age.

When the centenary anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill was held at Utica on June 17, 1875, the remains of Doctor and Mrs. Cochran were transferred from their resting place in Albany to the Forest Hill Cemetery. There, under the auspices of the Cemetery Association, with addresses commemorating the great struggle, and military pomp to honor the names of the founders of our nation, were the bodies of John and Gertrude Cochran again laid in a hallowed grave—the grave wherein they repose to-day.

[1] The original of this letter was some years ago stolen from the rooms of the Historical Society of New York.

[2] Motives of organization as set forth by the Society of the Cincinnati.

[3] See roll of original members of the Society of the Cincinnati.

[4] Obituary notice of Dr. Cochran, Albany Gazette, April 9, 1807.

A WALK TO DARBY.

BY TOWNSEND WARD.

(Continued from page 166.)

In our former walk from Philadelphia towards Darby we crossed the Schuylkill at Market Street. Another route (which we pursue to-day) is by the old Gray's Ferry Road, that now leaves South or Cedar Street, at 23d, or Water Street, as it is styled in Hill's map of the city, of 1796, bearing away southwestwardly to the Schuylkill. Just to the south of its point of commencement was "Evergreen," the country seat of Israel Pemberton, at first, and afterwards of Joseph Crukshank, whose imprint, from his office in Church Alley, is on the title-page of many a book of the earlier part of the century. A story goes that on a time this amiable Friend with another Quaker, his neighbour Edward Sheepshanks, and also Maltby John Littleboy of Second Street, hard by, met in the almost adjoining counting-house of Joshua Longstreth. This latter friend, whose sense of humour was unusually keen, was so much impressed with the oddity of the names of those thus gathered together, that he commenced to introduce them to one another, and by ringing all the changes on their striking names, continued it for such a time that even Quaker patience threatened to endure it no longer. The scene, it was said, was for a moment as though some of the world's people had met.

A short distance down the Gray's Ferry Road a fight occurred on the 27th of September, 1777, between about thirty British soldiers and nearly a hundred Continentals, the latter of whom were defeated. There were three officers and one private wounded on the American, and one private killed on the British side. A little further, and on the western side of the road, are the fine grounds of the Naval Asylum, which reach nearly to the river. Originally the country seat of Chief-Justice Kinsey, it was at the time of the Revolution

the "Plantation" of James Pemberton. A beautiful painting of the quaint old one-storied building has been executed by Mr. Isaac L. Williams. In 1826 the property was purchased by the Federal Government, and soon afterwards the imposing marble building which has sheltered the battered hulk of many an honest tar, was erected thereon. The grounds were laid out and the trees planted under the direction of Commodore James Biddle, who was the first Governor of the Asylum. Additional buildings, of brick, have since been erected. In the rear of the buildings, on the slope towards the river, lie the remains of its sometime Governor, Admiral George C. Read, whose portrait is in our gallery. An excellent history of the Asylum has been written by Edward Shippen, M.D., U.S.N., which, in manuscript, is among the archives of the Society. Not far beyond the Asylum and on the same side of the avenue, is the Schuylkill Arsenal, also belonging to the Federal Government. To the east of the Arsenal, and at no great distance from it, is the site of the seed-garden established about the beginning of the century by David and Cuthbert Landreth. Its ten acres, situated on Federal Street, bounded on the east by Long Lane, and extending from 20th Street westward to 23d or Ashton Street, sufficed for raising the seeds then needed, as well as for an extensive nursery and fine greenhouses. These greatly interested visitors, who consequently sought the place in considerable numbers. The property is still held by the Landreths, but long ago they sold to the Controllers of the Public Schools the old mansion house, which thus became the Landreth Public School. It was burned down about fifteen years since, but was soon rebuilt. This seed garden was the first of the kind in this country, and the prudence and wisdom of its management may be estimated by the success of the owners and their descendants who now hold such gardens, not small ones however, but of many hundred acres each in extent, in this and in far distant States of the Union. Passing onward from the Arsenal, iron and chemical and various other manufacturing works are to be seen as we approach old Gray's Ferry, while on the east side of the avenue

there are brickyards, rapidly disappearing, however, before the rows of houses that have already at some points stretched to the avenue, and even beyond it.

Before crossing the river we should linger for a while at the castle of "the State in Schuylkill," which stands on the left bank at Rambo's Rock, not far below the railroad bridge. At a very early day in the history of Pennsylvania there were those here who dearly loved good cheer, and so in 1732 they formed themselves into a club for fishing and for dining on the fruits of their sport. This was the ancient "Colony in Schuylkill," whose castle was at Eaglesfield on the right bank of the river, about one mile above Fairmount dam. Upon the erection of that dam, in 1822, as shad could no longer ascend so far, the place was abandoned, and the old castle was floated down through an aperture left in the dam, and put up below as it now appears. The proud boast of the State is that in all the lapse of years since its origin, no alteration has been made in its laws and no change in its customs. No vandal hand has touched its fireplace that seems to have come down undiminished in its vast size from the days of the giants. At its feasts all alike wear aprons, guests as well as "citizens," and all engage, the ladies too, who may have been invited, in the preparation of the food in the antique cooking utensils, after the same fashion as in the olden time. After that manner, too, it is served in the huge pewter platters that came from the Penns. Each apprentice willingly serves his time, never aspiring to become a citizen until by his proficiency in cooking the health and comfort of all are assured. Indeed he need not aspire, for no one can rise until a vacancy shall occur in the fixed number of the citizens. A child, the heir-apparent of a citizen, may be laid in the mighty bowl that has made the Fish-house punch so famous. After a feast, and as the sun goes down, and the flag of the castle is to be lowered, there rises from the company some song of freedom not more heartfelt now than were the strains chaunted by their liberty-loving English ancestors.

In the Provincial days the establishment was called "The Colony in Schuylkill," but legends handed down from citizen

to apprentice, and fondly cherished, are to the effect that more than a thousand moons ago, the colonists met and declared their independence, and thus became the State that good cooking has so well preserved. Quite recently, a territory has been acquired on the right bank of the Wissahickon, at its mouth, on which a colony has been planted, which it is hoped may long endure, and may never depart from ancient forms and customs; for, as yet, this venerable government, unlike everything else on earth, has undergone no change. Braddock had his fall, and Washington his rise, and both in Pennsylvania; Napoleon sighed away his blasted life on the lonely Isle of St. Helena, while his brother passed some of his last years here; China and Japan have opened their long closed ports, and their ambassadors on their way to Washington could be seen by the warden as he stood at the castle; all that ever was old has passed away to be replaced by the less enduring new, but never yet has an apprentice entered here without wearing the white apron befitting a cook, and practising his 'prentice hand on planked shad or sirloin steak, that he might, as it were, win his spit and saucepan. The laws are now as they ever were and ever shall be, for the Medes and Persians are held in high esteem in this most changeless state.

Near the castle is Harmar's Retreat, still held by the family of that name. Late in the last century its head, General Harmar, after an honourable career in the Revolutionary War, marched an army into the Western country of that day, now Ohio, against the hostile Indians, who in great numbers proved, as more than once has been the case, victorious in the field. He retreated, and hence the name of the place. Here the General lived for years afterwards, regarded by all who knew him, for he was of a genial manner. He was Commander-in-chief of the Army of the United States during several years. Regarding the code as gentlemen of the old school even yet are apt to do, he once met some younger men at Gray's Garden, and suggested to them in the course of the interview, that it had become necessary to settle a question that had arisen between them, by a shot or so.

They had no pistols, most unfortunately, they said; but he, all politeness, as was the custom of the day, said, "It was of no moment whatever; for," and springing on his horse as he said it, "I will bring mine in a few minutes." It was scarce a mile, so he was not long gone, but on his return, alas! there was no one to shoot. That night, it was said, he laid his head upon his pillow, a miserable man.

It would be wrong to leave this side of the river without adverting to the history of an extraordinary tree. On the place of Lawrence Seckel, afterwards of the Girard Estate, near Point Breeze, stood a pear tree, the fruit of which was used for many years by a tenant, until at last Mr. Seckle eating thereof discovered its great excellence. Its origin is entirely unknown, but it is the respected ancestor of all the Seckel pear trees of the country.

We are now to cross the river, and we do so by the bridge erected in 1838 by the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad Company. The site of this bridge is the point of a most ancient crossing. On the 25th of May, 1695, a petition of Chester County for "a ferrie att the rock" was presented to the Provincial Council. The prayer of the petitioners was granted, and Benjamin Chambers, patentee of land on the West side of the river, was for a time the Farmer of the Ferry. On the 17th of August, 1747, George Gray, who had become the owner of the "Lower Ferry," as it was then called, petitions Council for a warrant to survey a road, etc., showing "That the said road leading from the South Street of the said city over the said ferry to Cobb's Creek, near Darby in the County of Chester, has Time out of Mind, been the only and accustomed Road to Darby, Chester, New Castle, and the Lower Counties." The means of passage used before the railroad bridge was constructed is still remembered by many yet living, who in their adventurous youth sought the western shore of the Schuylkill for the rich milk punches that awaited them at Gray's Garden. And a picturesque sight it was, that floating bridge, a legacy of the British occupation of the city. On the 20th of October, 1777, Robert Morton writes that he had seen "a number of Hessians cross-

ing over the bridge of boats lately made for that purpose." Major Clark says in a letter to Washington, December 26th, "At Gray's Ferry they have a very good bridge of boats;" and on the 30th, that "They have taken up their bridge at Gray's." William Jones long remembered that, when a boy, he came across two American riflemen concealing themselves among the bushes on the hilltop west of the river. They told him they were going down the slope to shoot the sentinel at the bridge. They left, and he soon heard firing, and a day or two afterwards he learned that the sentry had been shot.

On the 9th of April, 1781, the Assembly "Resolved, That the property of the floating bridge, now lying at the Lower Ferry, on Schuylkill, be vested in George Gray, Esquire, on his paying into the Treasury of this State the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds for public use, and that the said George Gray be authorized and permitted to lay the same over the river Schuylkill at his Ferry." Mr. Westcott, in his "History of Philadelphia," chapter 265, says, "The bridge at Middle Ferry, laid by the British, was ordered to be removed to Gray's Ferry; and the floating bridge originally at Market Street, laid during the time that Putnam was in command, in 1776–77, was towed back from the safe place where it had been concealed from the enemy and moored at its old station." The river Schuylkill, "att the Rock," was a strikingly picturesque scene. There is enough, too, of historical incident associated with the place to have led that excellent artist, Mr. Isaac L. Williams, to recently execute for the Society a most charming oil painting of the scene as it was in the days of the old floating bridge. The site of the bridge was a little, and only a very little, further up the stream than is that of the present one. The roadway from it ascended to the higher ground, but in order to do so, it had been cut deep into the rocks that rose on either side, forming at the right hand a firm foundation for the old inn where all were welcomed. The steps to the house were hewn out of the rock itself, and were still to be seen in 1870, though the house had disappeared long before that time. High up the ascent was the residence of Thomas Say, of a

Huguenot family of Languedoc, which, coming here, became Pennsylvania Quakers. One of the family was a partner in a well-known drug house, and not a silent one, for the style of the firm was Speakman & Say. Another descendant occupies an honourable place in our annals among the writers on natural history. They were of the same family as Jean Baptiste Say, the celebrated writer on political economy. By a fall at Say's grounds, half a century ago, James Bartram had his neck dislocated.

In 1787 a number of gentlemen formed "The Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of Agriculture," the first of the kind established here. It still exists, and still continues its old custom of monthly dinners, under the cognomen of "The Farmer's Club." The intelligent direction of the Society soon had a marked effect on the farm product of Delaware and Chester Counties, which increased so greatly in amount as to considerably augment the receipt of tolls on the Gray's Ferry bridge. This was used effectively as an argument in favour of the erection of the bridge at Market Street. The confidence in the success of this bridge was so great that the original intention was to construct it entirely of stone. On the completion of the piers it was, however, decided that the superstructure should be of wood. The witty Judge Peters was one of the founders of the Society. Ever ready to undertake improvement, he endeavoured at his own place, Belmont, to produce a superior article of butter. It was achieved. The butter, balanced by his old pound weight, was nicely packed in tubs and sent to market, but only to be seized by the clerk for short weight, and confiscated to the use of the poor. The Judge was told by the clerk that he should have his weight tested by the public officer. He did so, and it happened that the servant returned with the weight while a dinner party was at the table. The Judge took it in his hands and beheld the initials of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, C. P. Turning to his wife, he said: "My dear! They have found us out. They have stamped the old weight C. P., for cheating Peters."

We are now in Kingsessing, and here was that place of

favourite and fashionable resort, Gray's Garden, the road to which is well described in the lines of Alexander Wilson:—

> "Where market maids in lively rows,
> With wallets white were riding home;
> And thundering gigs with powdered beaux,
> Through Gray's green festive shades to roam."

The great bowl of punch, of 1744, to refresh the Virginia Commissioners, was no doubt prepared here.[1] It must have been a busy scene, too, at another time, when on the 20th of April, 1789, the triumphal arch twenty feet in height over the bridge was erected in honour of General Washington. Under the arch at the western end was a crown of laurel, so arranged as to descend upon the hero's head as he passed.

Gray's garden being near the seat of the Hamiltons, and not far from the fine botanical collection of Bartram, it was but natural that its owner should partake of the spirit of such devoted lovers of trees and flowers, and therefore on these grounds were to be found many rare specimens. And now, although half a century has elapsed since the place was known as a garden, the botanist still finds among the tangled thickets unexpected exotics. George Gray was the fifth of that name in the line of descent from George Gray who came here from Barbadoes. He was a member of the Colonial Assembly, of the Committee of Safety, of the Board of War of Pennsylvania, of the Constitutional Convention, and Speaker of the House of Representatives of the State. He died in 1800.

Just before the junction of the Gray's Ferry and Kingsessing Roads, in the angle formed thereby, and running along both, may yet be seen the ditches of the military works of 1812, constructed under the direction of General Jonathan Williams, assisted by his son, the late Henry J. Williams. They are redan, open in the rear. The breastworks are levelled, but the well-marked ditches remain. Almost at the junction spoken of, and on the west side of the Darby Road, is the Educational Home for Boys, erected on land unosten-

[1] Penna. Mag., i. 242.

tatiously presented for the purpose by Mrs. Mary Gibson and Mr. I. V. Williamson. In this vicinity, in 1845, that gigantic man of six feet six, William Jones, died. He was a friend of Alexander Wilson, the ornithologist, who for a time lived at his house. We are now on the Darby Road again, it must be remembered, and about a fourth of a mile further on is the ancient hostelry, the "Sorrel Horse." Opposite to it there stood until recently three Lombardy poplars. They were in front of an old and quite dilapidated stone building, now used by a wheelwright for his shop, but which in earlier days was the place where Wilson taught his school.

His scholars were instructed in the mode of those days, which has become so obsolete now that the very first steps in it are a puzzle to the adult. The alphabet, printed in the form of a cross, was called the Christ-Cross-Row. Each vowel had to be sounded "by itself," when it was reached, and the words "by itself" repeated. The rapidity of pronunciation, however, soon turned "by itself" into "bisself," so the anxious urchin rushed through his alphabet in this wise. A bisself a, B, C, D, E bisself e, F, G, H, I bisself i, etc. He ended with z as now, but called it izard, and the flourish at the end, Ampersand, he called Ann pussy ann.

Here it was also that this fine character imparted to others something of the rare spirit that impelled him to achieve works that have given him a most respectable name among authors. It is not easy at this time of abounding wealth to comprehend the struggle of excellent artists with depressing poverty; a struggle, however, that is as keen now as it ever was. While, then, our days can produce instances of labour as ill rewarded as that of Alexander Lawson, it is none the less to his credit that he should have engraved some of the plates of Wilson's work for the poor reward of less than one dollar a day; "but I did it," said he, "for the honour of old Scotland." In the school-house that we are contemplating, boys were taught but little, as we have often been told, yet little as it was there was nothing that was not thorough, nor anything to interfere with that other and perhaps far more

important part of education—self-reliance, and the use of implements of husbandry or tools of handicraft.

A short distance further on the road brings us to the extensive gardens and hot-houses of John Dick. They were established not many years ago on a property which, some time previously, appeared to have had no claimant. The last family who should have been there had passed away, and no one knew whither or why. The Rising Sun now appears on the elevated ground just beyond Dick's, while opposite to it is the house of that eccentric John Bartram, a descendant of the botanist, and who died about a quarter of a century ago. Now we come to the houses of occupants whose ancestors were Swedes, the Mattsons, Urians, Hansells, Matzingers, and Holsteins. On the east side a lane leads to Bartram Hall. This interesting building, of the date of 1730, is emphatically the work of John Bartram, for it was constructed by his own hands. Around it are the grounds of his botanical garden, the first in this country, and so greatly celebrated as to have brought its owner into an extensive correspondence with the great naturalists of Europe. Their letters to him are preserved, carefully bound, in the manuscript collections of the Society. The house and grounds are in good condition, but should any mishap in ownership occur it ought to be a matter of pride for Pennsylvanians to preserve so noted a place.

Just beyond Bartram's Lane is Gray's Lane, running northwestwardly, however, over to the West Chester Road. At the distance of about a mile is Whitby Hall, a large house of stone, erected about the middle of the last century by Captain Joseph Coultas, whose daughter married George Gray. Until recently this property was in possession of Mrs. Martha Thomas, a daughter of George Gray, and widow of Evan Thomas, and is still held by her descendants. She died about 1867 at the age of ninety-seven years. On the east side of the road, only a little distance from Gray's Lane, is where, near fifty years ago, Hope, the market gardener, lived. In his case "Murder will out" has been disproved, for early one morning he fell a victim to a brutal assailant, and no trace has ever yet been discovered of the murderer. Half a mile be-

yond Gray's Lane is quite an extensive tract of land, yet in possession of a descendant of the Gibsons, who were early Quaker immigrants.

On the west side of the Darby Road is the Presbyterian Home for Widows and Single Women, and then, also on the same side, but beyond, is the Maloney place, now, however, belonging to Mr. Thomas S. Ellis. A number of wooden houses that stood till recently along this part of the road were erected and used, for the time, by citizens of Philadelphia who had fled from the yellow fever of '93. The road to Mount Moriah Cemetery passes westwardly on the south side of Maloney's. On the southeast side, and perhaps three-fourths of a mile beyond, is the fine property of Mr. Robert Smith. The house was erected by Mr. Morris Wickersham, now of Piacenzi, Italy, on ground that once was part of the Paschall estate. Opposite to this, on the north side of the road, and some distance back from it, is an old stone house, erected long ago by Colonel Davis, from whom George Gesner obtained it. His children yet live near there.

Not much beyond Gesner's is 68th Street, and between it and 69th Street, with a front of five hundred and fifty feet, is the ample lot on which stands the edifice of the ancient Swedish Church of St. James of Kingsessing. This congregation was so averse to a loss of individuality that they required provision in their charter for much of independence before they would consent to be represented in the convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Their ownership covers the whole square of ground except a very narrow strip along 69th Street. The nave of the church edifice was erected in 1762, and the transept in 1854. That generous-hearted man who, in an unostentatious manner, did so much good in his day, the late Thomas Sparks, built the Parish School House on the north corner in 1865, as a memorial to his child, William B. Sparks. The Sunday School House on the south corner was erected by the ladies of the church in 1859. The wall fronting the lot was constructed at the cost of Mrs. M. Brooke Buckley. The bell was presented by Mr. Edward S. Buckley. All the buildings are of gray stone, and the

broad, irregular seams of white mortar are picked in with small pieces of the same stone, producing a pleasing effect, relieved as the whole scene is with many fine old trees on the grounds, and widespread ivy on the walls. On the right hand side of the road is the parsonage, which formerly was the mansion house of Dr. Henry Paschall. To the rear of the church grounds is the old building now occupied by the family of Garrigues, who, perhaps, are of the same stock as was Garrick the great actor, who was of Huguenot extraction, the real name being Garrique. During the Revolutionary War the house was the mansion of the Price family. At one time it was occupied by General Washington as his quarters. The movements of the enemy were, however, so rapid, that he quickly abandoned the place, leaving the parlour half filled with saddles, accoutrements, etc. The enemy immediately took possession, and their commander, Sir William Howe, a very polite gentleman, inquired of Miss Nancy Paschall, then a visitor at the house and about to be married, "What was in that room?" Poor thing! she must have been sorely perplexed about the bridles of Washington's horse and her own bridal arrangements, for she replied, "They were her wedding things." Sir William kindly said to her "My dear, I will not disturb them."

Not much beyond St. James's, and on the west side of the road, is the Summit House, built originally for summer boarders, but used during the late war as a military hospital, and now owned by the Roman Catholics, who hold it as a retreat for aged priests. Near it, and on the same side of the road, is the building of the Methodist Church, of dressed stone; while to the rear, and only a few feet to the south, is an old country school-house belonging to the Friends. On the east side of the road, a few score yards beyond, is an attractive building of dressed stone, erected some ten years ago as a church edifice by the Roman Catholics. They have also provided a parsonage, and have tastefully ornamented the grounds. And now comes the village of Paschallville, a place of about two thousand inhabitants, laid out in 1810 by the Dr. Paschall previously mentioned. The southern end of

the village, just before reaching the Blue Bell Inn, was, in 1777, the scene of a conflict with the British. Major Clark writes to Washington on the 18th of November, that "Five thousand of the enemy crossed from Philadelphia at the Middle Ferry. They surprised the guard at the Blue Bell and took a few prisoners. Three of ours wounded, and three of the enemy killed, including a Scotch officer." It is said that Lord Cornwallis was in command, and that he captured thirty-three of General Potter's force. The British loss was one captain, one sergeant-major, and three privates killed, and several wounded. It was here, along the higher ground on the left bank of the Kakarikonk, that Washington, when moving towards the field of Brandywine, was forced by rains so heavy as to swell the stream almost beyond precedent, to remain three days inactive. The family of Judge Lloyd were wont to speak of boats being used for crossing.

The "Island Road" to Suffolk Park leaves to the east just at the Blue Bell, and soon passes a pretty spring-house, alongside of which stand two fine willow-oaks, a tree that finds in this region nearly, if not quite, its northern limit. The Blue Bell Inn is on the west side of the Darby Road, and on the margin of the Kakarikonk, or Cobb's Creek. Its distance from 32d and Market Streets is more than four miles, or from the Delaware end of Market Street about seven miles, the whole of which is lighted with gas. The southern portion of the inn is of stone, and bears the date of 1762. In front of this older part is a carriage stepping-stone of considerable historical interest, for it is, perhaps, one of the first millstones used in what is now the territory of Pennsylvania, and was in use before Penn's arrival. The stone is circular in form, with a square hole through its centre. Not far from the inn, and in the bed of the creek, only a few feet west of the old King's Road bridge, may be seen the holes, drilled in the rocks, in which were inserted the supports of the ancient mill wherein the stone was used. Mr. Aubrey H. Smith remembers finding, when a boy, a piece of lead weighing seventeen pounds, that had evidently been run, when melted, around an inserted post.

Dr. George Smith, in his history of Delaware County seems to fully establish the fact that the "Towne of Kingsesse," commenced before Penn came, "was located below the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad, and east of the Island road, in the late township of Kingsessing. The immediate vicinity of the Swede's mill has been assigned as the location of this town, but this was not situated in 'ye Schuylkill'. A comparison of Holme's map with p. 174 of the Record of Upland, and also with Jonas Neelson's will (in Register's office, Book A, No. 94), will be satisfactory as respects the location of this town." In all probability then, in some building in that now unknown town, was held on the 14th of June, 1681, the last session of the Court of Upland under James, Duke of York; for there is entered of record in the minute of that date, "Att a Court held at Kingsesse for Upland County in Delawar River by his Majesties authority," the proclamation of the Commander and Council that "his Maijtie hath been graciously pleased by Letters Pattents bearing date ye 4th day of March laest to Give and Grant to Will. Penn Esq., all ye tract of Land in america now called by ye name of Pensilvania, etc." "Ye tract of Land" was not however a wild waste, for that there were already many inhabitants in the country is shown, not only by the removal of the Court further up the river, but also by the last order of the court previous to the entry of the proclamation. This last order is the appointment of "William Boyles (Biles) to be overseer and surveyor of ye higheways from the falles to Poetquessink creek; he to take care that ye sd higheways be made good and passable with bridges over all myry and dirty places." It must be borne in mind that under the crown of Sweden, and afterwards under the government of Holland, and subsequently under that of the Duke of York, all or nearly all, who travelled up or down the territory, did so either in boats along the water-courses, or else passed by the mill, which was conveniently situated, keeping, when north of it, to the west of the river Schuylkill, which they crossed at the falls near Manayunk. Thence they crossed over to Tacony, or, if going southwardly, they passed from it to the falls. When Penn

came and founded Philadelphia, it is, however, not to be doubted that the crossing at or near where Gray's Ferry now is, commenced at once to be of the first importance. In 1744 the Virginia Commissioners were escorted to the stone bridge, the Blue Bell, by the sheriff, coroner, and several gentlemen from Chester, and at this bridge, the county line, they were met by the sheriff, coroner, and sub-sheriff of Philadelphia County.[1]

At the time of the Revolution, or perhaps it was during the first presidency, when the Paschalls kept the Blue Bell Inn, General Washington stopped there more than once. On one of these occasions he chanced to hear the girls in the kitchen (there were three of them) chattering about him, one of them saying she would like to kiss him. He opened the door and inquired which of them it was who was so willing, but none would speak, for they greatly feared the majestic man. "Then I will have to kiss all of you," he said, and descending as Jove did, he kissed them all, but it was in that proper manner so becoming in the days of our grandfathers. Until 1855 the venerable dame who long survived her sisters, was wont to relate the anecdote, and with no little pride. For many years the house was kept by the Lloyds, and no place along the whole road was more favourably known. Other houses on the route have had striking names. "Dewdrop Inn," from its pronunciation, must have been coined by Sam Slick himself, and "One too many" by some one beside himself, while the "Grecian Bend" was of course the fruit of the happy fellow whose last glass made him describe in practice Hogarth's line of beauty.

On the south side of the Kakarikonk, or Cobb's Creek, we are now in Delaware County, and to the east of the Darby Road is the picturesque mansion-house of the Smiths of Tinicum, bought by them of the Lloyds in 1816. An ancient house, a part of it dating from 1725, embowered among aged trees, no destroying hand has as yet touched the antique double door, now so rarely seen, and which in this place yet

[1] Penna. Mag., i. 240.

retains what, perhaps, can nowhere else be seen, veritable "bull's-eyes." These are round pieces of glass, very thick in the middle, and inserted, two of them, in the upper part of the door, to afford some little light to the hall. The northern door, the eastern door, and an inside one opening into the dining-room, each contains two of these now almost unknown adornments. A wooden lock, yet in good and serviceable condition, is in use on one of the doors of the house.

Leaving Smith's we soon come, on the north side of the road, to the stone house formerly of Robert Jones, erected, no doubt, prior to the Revolution. Further on, and also to the right hand, is another old stone house that once belonged to James Hunt. Most of that family, however, lived in a house still further on, just upon the slope as we descend to Darby, but which in earlier days was the residence of Dr. John Paschall, one of the corporators in 1742 of the Library Company of Philadelphia. There is a well on the property, yet in good condition, strongly impregnated with iron, in the water of which the doctor was used to immerse his patients.

Darby at last is before us. It contains about fifteen hundred inhabitants, and is of early date. It is named after Derby in England, and is spelled as the name was by the author of the "New World of Words," printed in 1671. It is there said to be a contraction of the word Derwentby, "because it standeth on the river *Derwent.*" The difference of spelling in Derby and Darby is but slight, and is not incomprehensible as is the case in another instance. Near Richmond, in Virginia, there is a family named Darby who spell their name thus, Enroughty. Occupying a good position in a country so excellent as to have already led to the removal of the court-house from Upland to the vicinity of Darby, it was but natural that the followers of Penn should settle there in considerable numbers. As was their custom they almost at once, in 1684, established their meeting, and in that year occurred the first marriage, that of Samuel Sellers and Anna Gibbons. The fair bride rode to her new home on a pillion behind her husband. Samuel Sellers while married in Darby, was, however, a resident and landowner in the

township of Upper Darby, and it is said of him that during the first year of his residence there, he lived in a cave, near the site of which he afterwards erected, in 1683, the building known as "Seller's Hall." The place is still called the "Cave Field." Cave life was not unusual in that early day. A deed of about 1683, for a cave on the Delaware front of our city, is among our manuscripts. About a year before his death, our benefactor, the late Henry D. Gilpin, accompanied by his friend Joseph G. Cogswell of the Astor Library, visited with much interest the cave on the Brandywine in which his ancestors passed their first winter on this continent.

Prosperity soon rewarded the labours of the sturdy immigrants. At the very early date of 1743 their descendants formed a Library Company that still exists, and whose early importations of books were directly from London. It was somewhere about this time in the distant past, that the veteran tramp Bamfylde-Moore Carew, noted as the King of the English mendicants, was on his way from Maryland to the North. He had left Chester for Darby, "but before he reached there he was overtaken by hundreds of people going to hear Mr. Whitefield preach. He joined them, and they all proceeded to Darby, where he found Mr. Whitefield preaching in an orchard, but could not get near enough to hear his discourse by reason of the great concourse of people." Carew, however, was equal to the occasion, for by an artful, lying letter, he gained an interview with Whitefield, so that others with good claims were neglected, while he, the impostor, not only obtained from him several pounds in paper money of the Province, but much sympathy besides. At another time there was a great concourse there. Washington had been defeated at Brandywine, and the next day, September the 12th, his army poured through Darby on its way to Philadelphia.

As we pass through the village, quaint old houses, with projecting eaves, are still to be seen on the left-hand side just before we reach the inn, noted in earlier days as that where Washington was once entertained at dinner, when he found the doorway so low, or himself so tall, that he was forced to stoop. It was called the Buttonwood from an old

tree that stood in front of it. Some years ago the tree came down, and now the house, too, is gone, replaced, however, by a new one more commodious. In leaving, as we cross the bridge over Nyeck's Kihl, or Darby Creek, we still see, to the right, in full strength and vigour, a large white oak tree, which in 1682 was the beginning point in the survey of a tract of five hundred acres patented by William Penn to John Blunston, and at that time styled in the said patent an "ancient oak." The "Foul Anchor," an inn of some note in its day, was on the far side of the creek. It ultimately became known as the Bee Hive, but has now happily disappeared. One cares not to quickly leave a place like Darby, with its associations of the olden time, but it needs must be; and the spirit of the age, hurrying every one on, permits only a few closing observations as to the region around it.

About a half mile below Darby, on the old King's Road, as the whole of it southward of Gray's Ferry was called, and that afterwards became the great post route passing through Chester, is the farm of Nathaniel Newlin, of the era of the Revolution. With his views derived from Quaker ancestry and association, and perhaps from membership with them, it is not strange that he should say he "found King George's government good enough for him." Yet he was a man so much esteemed in the community that knew him well, that he was elected a member of the convention which framed for Pennsylvania the constitution of 1790. Nearly half a mile further is Kalmia, the country seat of the late Thomas Sparks. Some years ago, in digging trenches there for laying pipes, pieces of muskets, bullet-moulds, accoutrements, and some bones were found. No doubt they were of the time of the Revolution.

A second road from Darby, that to Radnor, crosses over to the West Chester Road, passing the places of Joel J. Bailey and others. A third road, up the Darby Creek, is that to Springfield. On it we soon come to the residence of the Puseys, descendants of the Caleb Pusey who, with William Penn and Samuel Carpenter, built the mill at Chester, the weather-cock of which, with its date of 1699, now surmounts

the edifice of the Historical Society in Spruce Street. A little beyond Pusey's, at the summit of the hill, is the old Methodist Church edifice. Then, to the left, we come to the properties of the Bartrams, held by them continuously from the time of Penn. Woodbourne, with its charming lawns and tasteful gardens, formerly the seat of Mr. George McHenry, but now of Mr. Thomas A. Scott, is next met with, on the right-hand side of the road; and then come the places, also on Darby Creek, recently of the Ashes, who, in 1860, were still living there, though mighty old, and who appeared to have always lived in the place, as their habits were those of the world before the flood, retiring to their beds at five o'clock in the afternoon, having no furniture in their houses but what had been purchased prior to the Revolution, and some of them, it was said, and perhaps correctly, never having visited that den of iniquities, the city of Philadelphia.

To go further one would soon reach the land where on every side appear those singularly attractive spring-houses, not less characteristic of Pennsylvania than are her equally famous bridges, a country charming beyond comparison in its scenery, and bountiful as Nature herself in all its products; a country, too, that often affords the exciting scene of a foxchase, for this ancient sport is still continued in Delaware County, which possesses the famous Rose Tree Fox Hunting Club, and an excellent pack of hounds. The title is derived from an old inn, of the days of the Revolution, called the Rose Tree, situated near Wallingford Station. The club has recently been gladdened by the discovery, in an old loft, of the original sign of the inn. And here our pilgrimage ends.

THE FOUNDING OF NEW SWEDEN, 1637–1642.

BY PROFESSOR C. T. ODHNER,
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LUND.[1]

TRANSLATED BY PROFESSOR G. B. KEEN.

The opening of the International Exhibition, this year, in Philadelphia, on soil formerly Swedish, and the intercourse between Sweden and the shores of the Delaware, springing from the circumstance, have again directed attention to the Swedish colony, which two hundred and forty years ago planted civilization in that vicinity, and the Swedes, who have visited the Exhibition, have been welcomed in Philadelphia almost as fellow-countrymen. In connection with the zealously conducted investigations of later times regarding the early history of the States, this ancient Swedish settlement has long since been the object of reverential attention and research on the part of historians in America,[2] albeit in Sweden very little has been accomplished in elucidation of facts concerning the primitive colony. Authors have generally followed the older works of Campanius and Acrelius, without addition of special criticism, and Geijer and Cronholm, in their accounts of Gustavus II. Adolphus, even repeat the former writer's unconfirmed, and, without doubt, unwarranted, mention of a Swedish expedition to the Delaware as early as 1631. The only contributions to the history of New Sweden, which have appeared more recently, occur in Carlson's work on the history of Sweden under the House of the Count Palatine, and in that of the author upon the internal history of Sweden during the regency of Queen Christina's

[1] *Kolonien Nya Sveriges Grundläggning* 1637–1642. *Af* C. T. Odhner. *Hist. Bibliotek. Ny följd* I. *ss.* 197–235. (Stockholm, 1876.)

[2] The titles of several American publications relating to the history of New Sweden are given by Professor Odhner in the Swedish original, omitted here.—TRANS.

Guardians.[1] The former book is occupied with the last years of the colony, and its conquest by the Dutch; the latter, on the contrary, with its foundation and first development. Most writers, both Swedish and American, who have treated of this subject, begin with the first great expedition which left Sweden for the Delaware, that, namely, under Governor Printz in 1642, but furnish nothing but disconnected and doubtful accounts of the previous settlement of the colony. Their omissions proceed from the obscurity which overhangs the earlier period, owing, partly, to the fact that during the first years colonization was carried on with some degree of secrecy, and more like a private enterprise, partly, to the circumstance that Governor Printz and his attendant clergyman, Johan Campanius, who supply details of the time referred to, probably both lacked accurate knowledge of what preceded the expedition of 1642, and had no occasion to speak of the topic. The author, indeed, in his above-named work, has sought to unfold the origin and first fortunes of the colony, but he was obliged to treat the matter with brevity in a book of such a scope, and, besides, he was not then possessed of sources of information enabling him to do justice to the subject. Since that time sundry scattered records relating to New Sweden have been brought together from various quarters of the Royal Archives; and during his last visit to this office the author was particularly fortunate in meeting with a packet in the Oxenstjerna collection comprising letters from the Swedish commissary in Amsterdam, Samuel Blommaert, to Axel Oxenstjerna, containing much new information concerning the founding of the colony and the first expeditions to the Delaware. The letters are written in Dutch, and for that reason, it may be, hitherto have not been turned to advantage by Swedish writers of history. With the help of such invaluable authorities, and of certain recent publications in America we are now in a situation to impart a much more

[1] *Sveriges Historia under Konungarne af Pfalziska Huset, af* Fredrik Ferd. Carlson: Stockholm, 1855–6. *Sveriges Inre Historia under Drottning Christinas Förmyndare, af* C. T. Odhner: Stockholm, 1865.—Trans.

exact and fuller account of the settlement in New Sweden than formerly was possible.

The first scheme of a Swedish colony in foreign parts was projected, as is known, by Willem Usselincx, the founder of the Swedish South Sea Company.[1] Praise has been accorded to the liberal and comprehensive views constituting the basis of the privileges conceded to this corporation, and, without doubt, these do bear advantageous comparison with the narrow-minded conceptions at that time prevalent in the world of trade, and especially with the Spanish and Dutch methods of colonization. We must not forget, however, that the Swedes made a virtue of necessity in opening their company to other nations, for, indeed, they had not the means to establish it independently. Both Gustavus Adolphus and Axel Oxenstjerna embraced Usselincx's projects with much interest, and assisted him as far as possible, but were hindered in the execution of their schemes by the pecuniary embarrassment and political changes which marked the period. Usselincx, too, does not seem to have been the right person to superintend the carrying on of such a work; he was already advanced in years, and appears, also, always to have been a man of words rather than deeds. With his pen, to be sure, he laboured indefatigably for his darling plan. Besides the collection of documents relating to the Southern Company, printed under the name of *Argonautica Gustaviana*,[2] the Swedish Office of Archives contains a mass of prolix proposals and reports, written by him, sometimes addressed to the chief commercial

[1] Usselincx was a merchant of Antwerp, who had become acquainted with the mysteries of the Spanish system of trade during a tolerably long sojourn in Spain and Portugal, and, as soon as he had settled in Amsterdam, sought to avail himself of his experience in the interests of Dutch commerce. He drew up the first plan for the Dutch West India Company, founded in 1621, but, after he had lost his wealth, through unfortunate speculations, he once more left the country. In 1624 he visited Gottenburg on a journey to Dantzic, when he was invited by Gustavus Adolphus to remain in Sweden.—On Usselincx see, especially, Laspeyres, *Geschichte der volkswirthschaftlichen Anschauungen der Niederländer.*

[2] Printed in 1633 at Frankfort-on-the-Main. Reprinted in 1662 in Marquardus, *De jure Mercatorum.*

towns of the Kingdom of Sweden, at others directed to foreign powers, the Hanseatic cities, France, the States-General, and so forth, abounding, indeed, in clever thoughts and brilliant fancies, but all, so far as we have been able to learn, unproductive of fruit. In the beginning his attention was bestowed chiefly upon the Spanish possessions in America, so alluring by reason of their inexhaustible metallic wealth. It is true, it was prohibited by § 29 of the privileges to enter into hostilities with the lands or subjects of the Spanish King, but when, in 1627, Gustavus Adolphus quarrelled with the Emperor, that monarch saw a foe, also, in Spain, and made no scruple, therefore, the following year, of concluding a treaty with the Duke of Buckingham, by which he agreed to aid that nobleman with sailors and soldiers in an expedition against Jamaica, and as compensation claimed one-tenth of the revenue of the gold mines.[1] The murder of the Duke, happening soon after, put an end to the whimsical project. Like the designs upon the crowns of Russia and Poland, it remains a witness to the adventurous, fantastical character at times conspicuous in the actions of the great king.

It was a singularity of Axel Oxenstjerna, that in several instances he brought about the execution of plans, which, during the reign of Gustavus Adolphus, had been mere projects of the mind; and it is characteristic of the statesman, that it was in the midst of the storms of war, and at a time of utmost peril and distress, he embarked on so equivocal an enterprise as the establishing of a foreign colony. Axel Oxenstjerna, surely, supplies ample reason for the appellation bestowed by Geijer on Gustavus Adolphus, "sower of swift war-chariots." It was during a year so full of menace for Sweden as 1635, that the chancellor of the kingdom took the first step towards the founding of New Sweden. When, in the spring, he was obliged to retire from southern to northern Germany, he passed, as is known, through France and Holland, for the purpose of inciting these nations to a more

[1] On this see, further, Lingard, *History of England*, vol. vii. p. 339 (London, 1849); Fant, *Observationes Selectæ*, pp. 100–2; Cronholm, *Sveriges historia under Gustaf II. Adolf*, iv. pp. 373–4; v. ii. p. 85.

vigorous support of his native country in her prosecution of the German war. In May, 1635, he sojourned in the Hague and Amsterdam. On the subject of this visit to Holland nothing is known excepting what relates to the political transactions.[1] We may, however, feel assured that a man with Axel Oxenstjerna's habits of careful observation, and lively interest in the development of the national economy, did not neglect the opportunity, afforded by his residence in the principal commercial city of the time, to acquire knowledge of effective measures, and to foster friendly relations, likely to result in gain for Sweden. That he did not forget the plans of Usselincx, we have a proof; for there appears among the Oxenstjerna papers a query, written by a certain Samuel Blommaert, and dated Amsterdam, June 3, 1635, a few days, therefore, after the departure of the chancellor from Holland, seeking information as to the prospects of a Swedish expedition to the coast of Guinea. This Blommaert, a merchant of Amsterdam, and a partner in the Dutch West India Company,[2] after the chancellor's visit, regularly paid his respects to Oxenstjerna through the medium of letters descriptive of the commercial and maritime relations of Holland. We learn from these epistles that at that time attention was directed chiefly to the coast of Guinea or Brazil. For an expedition to the latter country affairs then seemed peculiarly propitious, since the Dutch had acquired firm foothold in the land, and had dispossessed the Portuguese, while the West India Company had not yet obtained the privilege of the Brazilian trade, thus leaving Sweden free to participate in it.

[1] On this point see Arend, *Algemeene Geschiedenis des Vaderlands*, iii. 4. p. 851; Chemnitz, *Gesch. des Schwed. Kriegs*, ii. p. 696.

[2] With respect to this person we glean nothing from the chief Dutch biographical work (van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden*, II., I.), except that he distinguished himself during the years 1607–9 in the service of the East India Company. We may add that he is mentioned in 1630–1 as a partner in a private colonization (under the title of *patroonship*) of the east side of Delaware Bay: see Hazard, *Annals of Pennsylvania*, p. 26. Probably he was of the same family as the Thomas Blommaert who deserves so much credit for the development of the manufacture of bar-iron in Sweden during the reign of Gustavus Adolphus.

Another step in advance was taken the following year. During the spring of 1636 Axel Oxenstjerna received a visit in Wismar from the Dutchman Peter Spiring, who was on a journey from Prussia to Holland. This prudent man, so highly esteemed by the chancellor of the kingdom,[1] had regulated and introduced into the Prussian ports a system of excise singularly to the satisfaction of the latter, and, since the relinquishment of these harbours in 1635, had been retained by Oxenstjerna in the Swedish service. He departed for Holland with a commission to endeavour to gain subsidies for Sweden from the States-General; and was, moreover, instructed "to observe whether it might not be possible in this conjuncture to obtain some service in affairs of commerce or manufactures."[2] What he accomplished in the latter particular is learned from his letter to the chancellor.[3] He had held several "conversations" with Blommaert concerning the trade with Guinea, and had sought to interest in it both Blommaert and other Dutch men-of-business; he also heard from Blommaert of the person best qualified to impart information on these subjects, namely, Peter Minuit, the leader of the First Swedish Expedition to the Delaware.

Peter Minuit, as he himself wrote his name, or *Minnewit*, as he is, perhaps, properly called,[4] was a native of the town of Wesel, in the country of Cleves, the nearest border-land of Holland on the side of Germany. Probably he left the city of his forefathers when it fell into Spanish hands on occasion of the Jülich-Cleves war of hereditary succession. He went to Holland, and entered the service of the West India Company, and was at last constituted Director or Governor over the colony of New Netherland. This embraced the territory between the Hudson and Delaware Rivers, on both of which, in 1623, the

[1] With regard to this person see the author's *Sveriges deltagande i Westfaliska fredskongressen*, p. 46.

[2] The chancellor's *Memorial f. Joh. Nicodemi*, dated March 29, 1636. *Handlingar rör. Skandinaviens historia*, xxxviii. pp. 289–90.

[3] Spiring to the chancellor, dated May 14, 1636. The Oxenstjerna papers in the Royal Archives.

[4] It was also written by Swedes *Menewe*, *Menuet*, and so forth.

Company possessed firm foothold; on the east bank of the Delaware a little redoubt was built, called *Fort Nassau*, and on the western, near Cape Henlopen, a Dutch colony was planted in 1631, named *Zwaanendal*, soon laid waste, however, by the Indians, and abandoned.[1] Minuit resided as Governor at New Amsterdam (now New York City) from 1626 to 1632, and seems to have acquired the reputation of being an efficient officer, but finally rendered himself obnoxious to a powerful coterie in the Company, who, through their intrigues, compelled him to relinquish his office in 1632, when he returned to Holland.[2] He was living in his native country in 1636, when he was brought into notice by Spiring.

It was purposed, that Minuit should accompany Spiring, when the latter returned, in the summer of 1636, to Sweden, that he might aid the authorities with his counsel and superior information. But he was prevented from doing so, and sent instead a written opinion on the subject[3] by Spiring. In order to found a Swedish colony in some foreign part of the world (to be called "*Nova Suedia*"), a ship was needed, thought Minuit, of from sixty to a hundred *läster*,[4] with a cargo worth 10,000 or 12,000 *gulden*, and a company of twenty or twenty-five men, with provisions for a year, and a dozen soldiers to serve as a garrison for the place, besides a smaller vessel to remain at the settlement. It was, apparently, this proposal, or, at least, one grounded on it, which was read in the Swedish *Råd* September 27, 1636.[5] The thoughts of both Spiring and the government were constantly directed, it appears, to the coast of Guinea, peculiarly known as "the Gold Coast."

During the autumn of 1636 Spiring was again sent out to

[1] Hazard's *Annals*, p. 25 *et seq.* Cape Henlopen (properly Hindlopen ?) lay on the southwestern side of the mouth of the Delaware, and on the northeastern lay Cape May (properly *Mey*, from the first discoverer of the country, Cornelis Mey).

[2] The preceding statements with regard to the earlier fortunes of Minuit are taken, chiefly, from Fr. Kapp, *Peter Minnewit aus Wesel*, in Sybel's *Histor. Zeitschrift*, xv. p. 225 *et seq.*

[3] Dated Amsterdam, June 15, 1636. The Oxenstjerna papers.

[4] From 720 to 1200 tons.—Trans.

[5] *Rådsprotokollen.*

Holland, now, however, in the quality of Swedish resident and "counsellor of the finances" ("*finansråd*"), ennobled under the name of Silfvercron till Norsholm.[1] He arrived in Holland at the close of October, 1636, and, in accordance with the orders of the government, immediately resumed negotiations with Blommaert and Minuit. The former now received a commission as Swedish Commissary in Amsterdam, at a yearly salary of 1000 *riksdaler*, becoming what, in our days, is called Swedish consul-general in Holland. To arrive at some determination about the plans for a colony, Spiring invited Blommaert and Minuit to meet him in consultation at the Hague at the beginning of the new year. The result of this deliberation appears in Spiring's and Blommaert's letters to the chancellor.[2] It was discovered, on closer examination, that an expedition to Guinea would require more capital than they could hope to raise, and they, therefore, resolved to form a Swedish-Dutch Company, which should carry on trade with, and establish colonies on, the portions of the North American coast not previously taken up by the Dutch or English. The cost of the first expedition was estimated at 24,000 Dutch florins,[3] half of which sum was to be contributed by Minuit and Blommaert and their friends, and the remaining half to be subscribed in Sweden. Spiring desired, also, to take the advice of other men-of-business, but refrained, both his counsellors urging, that the affair ought to be kept profoundly secret, lest the West India Company might frustrate the enterprise. Minuit was to be the leader of the expedition, Blommaert the commissioner for it at Amsterdam.

After these stipulations had been concluded, Minuit set out for Sweden, provided with the necessary documents, in the beginning of February, 1637. With regard to his residence and proceedings in Sweden the only information we possess

[1] He was in the habit of signing his name *Peter Spieringk Silvercroen op Norsholm.* His letters to the chancellor are usually written in Dutch.

[2] Spiring to the chancellor, dated November 8, 1636, and January 7 and 31, 1637. Blommaert to the same, November 26, 1636, and January 14, 1637. The Oxenstjerna papers.

[3] 1 *riksdaler* was equivalent to 2½ Dutch florins or *gulden.*

is gathered from the letter of Blommaert to the chancellor.[1] The Swedish government embraced the scheme with interest, and promised to place two fully equipped vessels at the disposal of the company: the contribution of money required from Sweden was subscribed by the three Oxenstjernas, Clas Fleming, and Peter Spiring.[2] Fleming, as well as the chancellor, was a most zealous promoter of the work: as virtual chief of the admiralty—the head-admiral was old and disqualified for service—he obtained the commission to fit out both of the ships, and concerted the details of the equipment with Blommaert and Minuit. In Holland, Blommaert procured an experienced crew, and the cargo required to trade with, and both were sent over to Gottenburg in the spring of 1637, when, it was agreed, the expedition should set out.[3] But, whether because of delay on the part of the authorities, or from a prolonged illness of Minuit, it was August before the vessels were prepared to leave Stockholm: on the 9th of this month the Admiralty issued a passport for the ships *Kalmar Nyckel* and *Gripen*,[4] the former the larger, a man-of-war, the latter a sloop, both belonging to the United Southern and Ship Company. They did not sail from Gottenburg till late in the fall. This delay was attended with several disadvantageous results: the ship's crew had to be maintained during the whole summer, and their wages paid at the expense

[1] See Blommaert's letters dated February 18, and May 6, 1637, etc.

[2] According to the *Account of Peter Minuit's Voyage to the West Indies in* 1637, *at Stockholm* (Oxenstjerna's papers). Axel and Gabriel Gustafson Oxenstjerna each contributed 3000 florins, Spiring 4500, and the rest smaller sums.

[3] Blommaert to the chancellor, June 6, 1637.

[4] *Amiralitetets registratur: Sjöförvaltningens arkiv.* The passes were granted to Captain Anders Nilsson Krober, of the *Kalmar Nyckel* (Key of Kalmar, named from the city and sea-port of Kalmar, in Sweden), and Lieutenant Jacob Borben, of the *Gripen* (the Griffin). The only person (so far as known) who came to New Sweden on the *Gripen*, and remained with the colony, was Anthony, "*ein morian oder angoler*," a bought slave (the first on the shores of the Delaware), who served Governor Printz at Tinicum in 1644 ("making hay for the cattle, and accompanying the Governor on his pleasure-yacht"), and was still living in New Sweden March 1, 1648.—Trans.

of the Company, and the vessels, after leaving Gottenburg, encountered the autumn winds in the North Sea, by which they were roughly handled. In December, 1637, they were obliged to put into the Dutch harbour of Medemblik, to refit and take in fresh provisions. The cost of the expedition, already reckoned at about 36,000 florins, was thus necessarily increased; and the Dutch partners, seeing the prospects of gain diminish, began to grumble. They were appeased, however, by Minuit's promising, on his return, to persuade the Swedish government to assume the additional expenditure. Whereupon the voyage was continued, at the close of 1637, to the place of destination.[1]

With respect to Minuit's voyage across the Atlantic we know nothing. The date of his arrival, however, in the Delaware has been determined, it is believed, with tolerable accuracy. An American investigator has extracted from English archives a letter from Jerome Hawley, "treasurer" for the English Colony in Virginia, to Mr. Secretary Windebanke, dated Jamestown, May 8, 1638, mentioning the arrival of a Dutch ship, with a commission signed by the Swedish government, whose commander had sought the privilege of laying in a cargo of tobacco for Sweden free of duty, and, although the right was not conceded, the vessel remained at Jamestown about ten days, "to refresh with wood and water." It was also ascertained that both this and another vessel accompanying her were destined for the Delaware, "to make a plantation, and to plant tobacco." As the Delaware was supposed to be part of the English territory, the question was asked, what should be done in case the Swedish colonization was successful?[2] From this testimony it was concluded, that it was Minuit himself, who visited Virginia on his journey to the Delaware. The inference is, notwithstanding, incorrect, as is discovered from a statement in Blommaert's letter. The vessel, that went to Jamestown on the occasion indicated, was not the *Kalmar Nyckel*, with Minuit aboard, but the

[1] Blommaert to the chancellor, January 6, 1638, with his particular account, dated January 28, 1640.

[2] Hazard's *Annals*, pp. 42 *et seq.*

sloop *Gripen*, which, after his arrival in the Delaware, the commander sent to barter her cargo in Virginia—a design which, nevertheless, miscarried. Since it seems, then, from the English document, that the Swedish vessel probably made its appearance in Virginia at the close of April, 1638, her arrival in the Delaware must, consequently, have occurred in March, or early in the month of April. With this opinion accords, likewise, another document of the same period, which shows that the Dutch Governor at New Amsterdam, Willem Kieft, was already aware of Minuit's arrival by the 28th of April.[1] On this day he writes to the Directors of the West India Company, that he had received intelligence from the commissary at Fort Nassau, that Minuit had landed on the Delaware, and had begun to construct a stronghold, and was minded to push on up the river past Fort Nassau, but was prevented from doing so. The Governor had first ordered the commissary to protest against Minuit's action, and had afterwards (May 6–17) uttered a solemn protest, in which he laid claim, on behalf of the West India Company, to the whole "*Zuid-Rivier*" (South River) (as the Delaware was commonly called in opposition to the more northerly Hudson), and pronounced Minuit responsible for all the harm and discord which might result from his procedure.[2] What ground the Dutch possessed for their claim we know from former statements; they had, in truth, purchased and built upon a part of the western shore of the Delaware, but had afterwards forsaken the region.

As to further events upon the Delaware, occurring after Minuit's arrival, we gain our information from the oft-mentioned letters of Blommaert,[3] which, it is stated, rely, in turn,

[1] Since the publication of Professor Odhner's article a document has been discovered in the Royal Archives at Stockholm implying the presence of Minuit on the Delaware at least by March 29, 1638. See THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, vol. ii. p. 465.—TRANS.

[2] Hazard's *Annals*, pp. 44 *et seq.* Ferris, *History of the Original Settlements on the Delaware*, pp. 38 *et seq.* Acrelius, *History of New Sweden*, pp. 25 *et seq.*

[3] Particularly the letters of the dates of November 13, 1638, and January 28, 1640.

on Minuit's own journals, charts, and other records now lost. It was agreed by Blommaert and the rest of the Dutch partners, who were at the same time associates in the West India Company, that all collision with that Company should be avoided, and Minuit seems to have beguiled the Hollanders with the illusion that Florida was the goal of his journey, it being usually spoken of in Blommaert's letters under the name of "*voyagen till Florida.*" Without doubt, however, from the very beginning Minuit determined to direct his course to the large peninsula jutting out between the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays, which, from the period of his governorship, he knew to be both fertile and unoccupied, notwithstanding the Hollanders laid claim to it. In his journals he seems completely to have concealed the protest of the Dutch, for nothing with regard to it occurs in Blommaert's letter. On the contrary, this relates that Minuit travelled some miles into the country, to discover whether there were any Christian people there, and made signals by firing cannon, but no response to indicate their presence was received. He had sailed into one of the tributaries of the river on the western side, named "*Minquas' kil*,"[1] and entered into negotiation with the chiefs of the neighbouring Indian tribes, called by the Swedes "*Minquesser*," belonging to the Iroquois race, which dispossessed the Delawares, the former owners of the country, who were of the Algonkin stock.[2] The Indians agreed to sell Minuit a tract of land, several days' journey in extent, situated on the west bank of the Delaware, and the bargain was solemnly ratified by five competent Indian chiefs or Sachems,[3] a written contract being drawn up.[4]

[1] The Dutch *kil* signifies river, stream. *Minquas,'* or *Maniquas' kil* is to be distinguished carefully from *Minquess' kil,* situated farther to the south. (The latter was a name applied to the Apoquenemy; by the former is meant Christine Creek.—Trans.)

[2] Reynolds's observation on Acrelius's *History*, p. 47, note 4.

[3] *Sachem* is the Dutch and English appellation of such a chief; Campanius and Acrelius write *Sackheman.*

[4] Acrelius affirms that the Indians at this time resigned the land from Cape Henlopen to Santickan (the present Trenton Falls). On what he grounded his statement we do not know: possibly he had seen some tran-

When Minuit had thus acquired possession of the country, he caused the arms of the Queen of Sweden to be erected, and designated the new colony *New Sweden*. The stream he called *Elbe*,[1] and the fort, which he began to build close to it, with salute of cannon, he named *Kristina*. The latter was situated about two English miles from the outlet of the Elbe in the river Delaware, near where the city of Wilmington now stands, on a rising point of land, accessible on one side to large vessels, on the other surrounded by bog and sand-banks.[2] Within this stronghold were built two log-houses for the abode of those who should compose the garrison, and provisions of every kind were stored there for their sustenance, including maize and game, deer, wild geese, turkeys, and so forth. Probably a little garden, also, was laid out in the fort. At last, when all measures had been taken for the welfare of those who were to remain in New Sweden, Minuit began preparations for his return-voyage. He left a portion of the cargo, which he had brought out, to be used in barter with the Indians, as well as twenty-three men, under the command of Lieutenant Måns Kling, the only Swede who is expressly named as taking part in the First Expedition,[3] and Henrik Huyghen, who seems to have been Minuit's brother-in-law, or cousin. It was enjoined upon these leaders (of whom the former appears to have been entrusted with the military, the latter with the civil or economical part of the direction), to

script of the bill of sale, now lost (which appears to have been written in Dutch, and signed with the Indians' marks). It is, nevertheless, probable that he confounded this first purchase with the later one, for, if the Swedes had in the very beginning come into possession of the country as far as Trenton Falls, there would scarcely have been any need of further bargain. See, also, Hazard's *Annals*, p. 48.

[1] It was known afterwards not as *Elbe*, but as *Kristinas kil*, and is still called *Christeen*.

[2] As to the present appearance of the spot see Ferris's *Settlements on the Delaware*, pp. 41 *et seq.*

[3] Probably there were, also, one or two Swedes among the garrison. When Acrelius mentions a Swedish clergyman, Reorus Torkillus, as Minuit's companion, it is very likely that he bases his statement on a misconception. It is scarcely to be presumed that a Swedish priest went with the expedition, when this was composed, with few exceptions, of Dutchmen.

defend the fortress, and carry on traffic with the natives. These dealt, chiefly, in skins, and there still exists a letter of Governor Kieft's, dated July 31, 1638,[1] complaining, that Minuit, through his liberality towards the Indians, had drawn to himself the fur trade of the Delaware. Since Kieft in the same letter mentions Minuit's departure from New Sweden, it is likely that this event occurred during that month.

Minuit sent the sloop *Gripen*, in advance, to the West Indies, where he hoped to be able to exchange the cargo he brought out from Gottenburg, and afterwards he steered his own course, also, on the *Kalmar Nyckel*, to the same place—a proceeding censured by Blommaert, on the ground that he might very well have put all the residue of his cargo on the *Gripen*, and himself have taken the shortest homeward route to Sweden. Minuit arrived with his vessel at the West Indian island of St. Christopher, and succeeded in selling his merchandise there, obtaining in its place a load of tobacco. He was already prepared to sail away, when he and his captain were invited to pay a visit to a Dutch ship, which lay near by, named "*Het vliegende hert*" (The Flying Deer). While the guests happened to be on board the foreign vessel, there arose a violent hurricane, "such as occur in the West Indies every six or seven years." All the ships in the roadstead, to the number of twenty, were driven to sea; some lost their masts, or were otherwise badly damaged, some absolutely foundered. Among the latter, in all probability, was "*Het vliegende hert*," where Minuit was, for nothing more was seen either of him or of that vessel. The *Kalmar Nyckel*, on the contrary, had the good fortune to escape, and returned to the island, as soon as the storm abated, to search for her commander, but, hearing no tidings of him, after a delay of several days pursued her voyage to Sweden.[2]

Such was the end of the enterprising and gifted man, who, after having brought the Dutch settlement on the Hudson to a flourishing condition, became the founder of the Swedish

[1] Hazard's *Annals*, p. 45.

[2] With regard to this see, especially, Blommaert's letters to the chancellor, dated November 13, 1638, and January 28, 1640.

colony on the Delaware. The suddenness and mysteriousness of his death, together with the silence of the Swedish authorities as to that point, have till now kept us in ignorance of his ultimate fate. Acrelius even ventures to relate that Minuit remained in New Sweden, and "after several years of faithful service died at Christina." This assertion has passed from that historian to most of the writers on the subject, and, actually, Minuit's biographer, Kapp, has no other declaration to make.[1] That this statement was certainly incorrect was already discovered by the author in collecting materials for his work on *Queen Christina's Guardians*, for Fleming, in a letter of 1639,[2] speaks of the necessity of providing a successor for Minuit at Christina. But the true circumstances of the affair the author could not then learn, and, therefore, confined himself to these expressions: "Minuit seems either to have died on his way home, or to have left the Swedish service."[3] The former conjecture proves now to have been the true one.

The Swedish vessel, *Kalmar Nyckel*, bereaved of her commander in the way described, returning home encountered another misfortune. Once more was she battered by a storm, this time in the North Sea, and, losing her mast, she was obliged in November, 1638, to retire to a Dutch port. Through Blommaert's assiduity she was repaired upon the spot, and awaited further orders in Holland. The sloop *Gripen*, which had been sent by Minuit to the West Indies, cruised a while in the waters about Havana, and returned again to New Sweden. Here the vessel took in furs, obtained in the interval through traffic with the Indians, and

[1] Acrelius, *op. cit.* p. 15; Ferris, *op. cit.* p. 57; Hazard, *op. cit.* p. 59; Kapp, *op. cit.* p. 248. It is usually affirmed, that Minuit died in 1641, and was buried at Christina.

[2] Kl. Fleming to the chancellor, dated June 8, 1639. The Oxenstjerna papers.

[3] The author's work referred to, p. 302. When Reynolds (Acrelius's *History*, p. 28) attributes to the writer the assertion, that Minuit returned to Europe, but soon retired from the Swedish service, this arises, probably, from some misapprehension on his part.

then left for Sweden, where she arrived at the close of May, 1639, making the voyage from Christina to Gottenburg in five weeks.[1]

(To be continued.)

JOHN PENN'S JOURNAL OF A VISIT TO READING, HARRISBURG, CARLISLE, AND LANCASTER, IN 1788.

[John Penn, the author of the following Journal, was the eldest son of Thomas, who was the second son of William and Hannah (Callowhill) Penn; John Penn was born Feb. 23, 1760, and died in 1834; his mother was Lady Juliana Penn, daughter of the Earl of Pomfret. He published several volumes of poems, and built the mansion known as Solitude, now standing in the Zoological Garden in Fairmount Park. He also built a great house in Kensington Gardens, London, and the mansion of Stoke—the park surrounding which he laid out and planted; also Pennsylvania Castle on Portland Island. His portrait, and commonplace-book from which the Journal is taken, are in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. For the notes we are indebted to Mr. Daniel S. Zacharias and Mr. Henry May Keim, of Reading, and Mr. A. Boyd Hamilton, of Harrisburg.—Ed.]

April 6, 1788. Set out from Philadelphia and passed thro' the township of Roxborough, the name of which all the houses bear, scattered along the road for some miles. Passed, likewise, two meeting houses, then filled by their congregations, and alighted to rest the horses at one Cochran's. The soil is not very rich, but the country is finely diversified with wood and clear ground; tho' the beauties are not of so bold a sort as I admired in last year's tour to Bethlehem. I conversed much with a hoary-headed guest at this tavern, who lived near Reading, and who invited me to his house, terming me the "Honorable Proprietor." But to show how qualified respect is in this democratical country, this discourse passed

[1] Blommaert to the chancellor, dated January 28, 1640; Fleming to the same, June 8, and July 1, 1639; the same to Spiring, June 8, 1639. The Oxenstjerna papers.

while he, the tavern keeper, and myself were lounging in three chairs, and I obliged to joke with him about his age. Mine host, too, apprised me freely of the state of his finances, by which I concluded him to have joined in a late petition from Montgomery county for the relief of debtors.

In the evening arrived at Brooke's tavern, the sign of Dr. Franklin, but being recruited by light fare at the last tavern, exchanged my intended dinner for *a refreshing tea.* This road is marked by a peculiar appearance in the roofs of the different buildings, which remind us of England. Instead of shingles, the ordinary and universal covering, the barns are often roofed with thatch, and the houses with tiles, fabricated in the neighborhood.

April 7. Left the tavern at seven and a half o'clock, after admiring the strong likeness to Dr. Franklin, drawn by one Rutter,[1] a limner I employ in Philadelphia. That city and its environs may boast of the best sign painter, perhaps, in any country. I called upon Squire Muhlenberg[2] (as he was termed) the last speaker of the Assembly, who lived close by, over against the tavern, but as he was employed by business, soon proceeded upon my journey thro' a very pleasant country. The character of it is the beautiful, a little heightened in some places by the sublime. It is, indeed, perfect, especially as you approach the Schuylkill about Pottsgrove,[3] which would, even in England, be no contemptible village. One brick house adjoining, owned by a person named Rutter,[4] has the appearance of an English box. The river now adds to the beautiful disposition of the ground, and to the picturesque forms of the horizon; which continue till the Black Horse,[5] about half way to Reading, which is thirty miles from the

[1] George Rutter (Ritter), a noted sign painter and ornamenter of Philadelphia.

[2] Frederick A. Muhlenberg.

[3] Now Pottstown.

[4] Thomas Rutter.

[5] The Black Horse Tavern is in the township of Amity, in the county of Berks, and the place is now known as Douglassville; the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company have a passenger and freight depot adjacent to said tavern or hotel.

last tavern. Here I baited my horses, and then passed on thro' a series of higher hills, breaking the horizon with less harmony, and resembling somewhat more, Pelion upon Ossa.

Near Reading, into which I walked for two miles, sending on my horses, I met a person on horseback, and questioned him concerning the Manor here,[1] as I had alighted chiefly to examine at leisure my own ground. He showed the fertile valleys and low places, which were all settled by encroachers, and the rocky and barren mountains they left unsettled. The town[2] is finely situated on the Schuylkill, surrounded at a distance, and sheltered by these mountains. Dinner was

[1] The manor here mentioned was the manor of Penns Mount, and at that time formed the eastern limits of the town of Reading; at the present time, part of said manor is included in the limits of the city of Reading; said manor was surveyed to the use of the Honorable the Proprietaries, in pursuance of a warrant dated the 25th day of November, 1748, and returned into the secretary's office the 21st day of November, 1755, and contains 12,200 acres. Resurveyed by Cadwallader Evans, Jr., in 1789, and laid off in lots to the number of 232, by direction of Anthony Butler.

[2] The land on which the town of Reading was first laid out was taken up as follows, to wit: three hundred acres of land, surveyed on the 19th day of March, 1733, to Thomas Lawrence, warrant for the same tract dated the 1st day of June, 1733. Patent to Thomas Lawrence dated the 27th day of October, 1733. One hundred and thirty-seven and a half acres of land, surveyed on the 22d day of April, 1738, to Thomas Lawrence, warrant for the same tract dated the 23d day of June, 1737. Patent dated the 16th day of February, 1739. One hundred and twenty-six acres of land, surveyed the 3d day of July, 1741, to the Proprietaries' use, by order of the Honorable Thomas Penn, Esq., out of Richard Stockly's tract of 1150 acres.

Deed, Thomas Lawrence and wife to Thomas Jenkins for the above mentioned two tracts of land. Deed dated 6th December, 1745.

Deed, Thomas Jenkins and wife to Richard Peters and Richard Hockly for the same lands. Deed dated 10th December, 1745.

Deed, Richard Peters and Richard Hockly and Hannah, his wife, to the Honorable Thomas Penn and Richard Penn, Proprietaries, for the same lands. Deed dated 30th March, 1748.

The town of Reading was laid out on the two tracts of land which had been owned by Thomas Lawrence.

The first survey or plot of Reading extended from King, now Third Street, to Vigour, now Eleventh Street, and from Hamilton, now Chestnut Street to Margaret, now Walnut Street. A subsequent survey was made of 55 or 60 lots along the Schuylkill on both sides, which were called water lots. A

ordered at one Whitman's,[1] who proved the only tavern keeper who had not lately petitioned against the confirmation of the proprietary estate. His accommodations were worthy of a respectable country town, and I dined heartily upon catfish, which the river plentifully affords.

April 8. Mr. Biddle[2] and Daniel Clymer,[3] who, with other gentlemen of this town, had called the day before, joined me, and we walked down to the ferry, rented by us to one Levan. Then, turning to the left, we walked over the farm also belonging to the Proprietors, which has great advantages as such, but it will be more productive, as well as valuable, to divide it into small parcels and sell them separately. This counsel, given by people of the neighborhood, will most probably be followed, in spite of pleading taste. A dinner was provided for us at Mr. Biddle's, the honours of the table done in part by Mrs. Collins, his daughter, and his unmarried one present. They are of low stature, but rather pretty. Mr. Biddle appears an amiable character.[4]

third survey was made on the 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th days of July, 1776, by direction of John Penn, Esq., of the part of the town which lay between King, now Third Street, and the river.

[1] Abraham Whitman, whose son Abraham is now (1877) living in the city of Reading, and is upward of eighty years of age. The hotel or tavern was at the southeast corner of Fifth and Franklin.

[2] Judge James Biddle. His brothers were—Charles, Vice-President of Pennsylvania, Edward, Member of the Continental Congress, and Captain Nicholas, who was lost on the frigate Randolph in 1777.

[3] Daniel Cunyngham Clymer, son of William and Ann (Roberdeau) Clymer, was born in Philadelphia, April 6, 1748. Losing his father in early life, he was brought up by his uncle, General Roberdeau. He graduated at Princeton in 1766, read law, and attained an enviable position in that profession. He was a lieutenant in the 2d Battalion of Philadelphia Militia in 1775, and as lieutenant-colonel commanded a rifle battalion in 1776. During the Revolution Mr. Clymer was Commissioner of Claims of the Treasury. He removed to Reading, Penn., and in 1782 represented Berks County in the Assembly. He married Mary Weidner, daughter of Peter and Susan Weidner. His wife died Dec. 5, 1802, and Col. Clymer Jan. 25, 1819. They left one child, Edward Tilghman, the father of the Hon. Heister Clymer.—*Roberdeau Family*, Washington, 1876.

[4] The ferry rented to Levan was then at the place where the first Lancaster bridge had been built, which is north of the present iron bridge; it

It was mentioned that a subscription of about £3000 currency would remove the obstructions of the Schuylkill so much, that the trade and property of the town would most rapidly increase. Another plan much sooner to be executed, is the establishment of a school. The trustees are to allow the teacher £100 currency per annum.

April 9. Set off accompanied by Mr. Biddle, who was so obliging as to show me the way to General Mifflin's farm,[1] three miles from Reading. Finding the river too deep to ford, we passed at a lower ferry on the road to Lancaster. The General and Mrs. Mifflin received us in a neat farm-house, and being very early themselves, provided a second breakfast for us, tho' it was then only half-past seven. He took us round some of his improvements, and I rode with him to various points of view which commanded the town of Reading and the circumjacent hills and valleys. He farms about

is called the Lancaster, being on the road leading from Reading to Lancaster. After crossing over the river they turned to the left. At about one mile from the ferry on the road leading from Reading to Morgantown, there are two farm-houses, one on the right and the other on the left; these were on the Proprietaries' farm, which Penn said that he walked over, accompanied by Messrs. Biddle and Clymer; this tract of land was surveyed to the Proprietaries' use on the 18th of 2d month, 1740, by virtue of a warrant dated 31st December, 1733, containing two hundred and forty-five acres and allowance. About the year 1826, these farms became the property of the Hon. Henry A. Muhlenberg, the elder, who, after serving several terms in Congress, for the county of Berks, was nominated in the year 1844 as the Democratic candidate for governor, but died a short time before the election. The tract of land is now divided, and about one-half of it is owned by the Reading Land and Improvement Company, and the other part of said farm or tract of land is owned by the heirs of Charles Norton, deceased, late of the city of Philadelphia; a fine stream of water flows through this tract of land, and is known by the name of Angelica Creek; on the south of the above mentioned tract is another tract of land containing two hundred and seventy acres, which had likewise been surveyed to the use of the Honorable the Proprietaries on the 9th day of December, 1734, and is known as the mine tract; both these tracts of land are situate in the township of Cumru.

[1] This farm or a part of it is now owned by the county of Berks, the Berks County Almshouse and Hospital being erected on the same; there are upwards of six hundred acres of land in this farm, that is with the woodland. It is situate in the township of Cumru.

twelve hundred acres, and has a Scotch farmer who conducts the business. One hundred of meadow-land he waters. One neighbour of the General's is one of the marrying Dunkers. They live in their own houses like other countrymen, but wear their beards long. This person is a principal one, and when we accosted him was working in his meadow.

General Mifflin, with agreeable frankness and affability, pressed us both to stay for an early dinner, to which we sat down about one o'clock. After dinner I mounted my horse and came into the Carlisle road about three miles off, at Sinking Spring.[1] About sunset arrived at Middletown,[2] fourteen miles from Reading, and put up at a tavern, the master of which owned the town and one hundred acres in the neighbourhood. There is one spot on this road remarkable for its European appearance, the lands all cultivated, and adorned by some farms, and a very handsome Presbyterian church upon a hill. This road, however, upon the whole has less cleared ground than any I passed. The beauties are chiefly those of wildness and the romantic; the adjoining hills, being as yet bare of leaves, except where dotted by groups of firs, and being steep and extensive, these circumstances render them striking:—

forlorn and wild,
The seat of Desolation.

April 10. Rose by six o'clock, and after breakfast set out, in order to sleep at Harrisburg, the chief town of Dauphin County, and which was proposed to be the seat of government. Passed some mills a few miles from thence at Tulpehocken Creek, which afterwards meets the road somewhat farther in

[1] This place still retains its name. It is about six miles westward from Reading on the road leading from Reading to Harrisburg.

[2] The town was laid out by Mr. John Womelsdorff between the years 1760 and 1765, and is now called Womelsdorff. The Presbyterian Church, of which mention is made, is known as the German Reformed Church. It is now also used by the Lutherans. Womelsdorff (formerly Middletown) is laid out on land surveyed to John Page, and created into a manor by the Honorable the Proprietaries, and was named Plumton; a court of Barons was also granted to the said John Page.

a very picturesque spot. On the eastern side of this is a most elegant new Lutheran church.[1] On the western is a Calvinist's, called here, by way of distinction, a Presbyterian church.[2] After riding through a village,[3] I came to Lebanon, a handsome town containing some hundred inhabitants. This place is decorated by a spire, and the houses are well built; many of them stone or brick. It not being distant enough, the horses were baited at Millerstown, a small village halfway, and twenty miles from Harrisburg, or Harris's ferry. About sunset, I had a fine view of this town from an high part of the road;[4] the river Susquehanna flowing between its woody and cultivated banks close to the town. Mr. Harris,[5] the owner and founder of this town, informed me that three years ago there was but one house built, and seemed to possess that pride and pleasure in his success which Æneas envied.

Felices illi, quorum jam mœnia surgunt!

Tho' the courts are held here generally, Lebanon is infinitely larger. The situation of this place is one of the finest I ever saw. One good point of view is the tavern, almost close to the river. This was the house which stood alone so many years. It is called the Compass,[6] and is one of the first

[1] In the township of Marion, Berks County.

[2] Now known as the German Reformed Church, and situated in Jackson Township, Lebanon County.

[3] Now known as Myerstown.

[4] This road was north of the present P. & R. R. R. It afforded an enchanting view of Kittatinny Gap, up and down the Susquehanna for about 10 miles, and some distance into the valley of Cumberland and York Counties. The west side of the river was not wooded at that time, all the forest having been burned off twenty years before.

[5] John Harris, the founder of Harrisburg, a man of great energy, and the owner of 1000 acres of choice land about his fine residence, built in 1766—yet standing, pretty much as he erected it—on the Front Street and Mary Alley. His father is buried directly in front of it. Mr. Harris was "born at the ferry," 1726, died 1791, buried in Paxtang Church-yard.

[6] The ferry house, now occupied as a public school-house—built of logs, weather-boarded, low ceilings, large rooms—just below the present Harris Park, on Paxtang place, about 200 yards below the Harris Mansion.

public houses in Pennsylvania. The room I had is 22 feet square, and high in proportion.

April 11. After breakfasting about eight with Mr. Harris, we walked together to the ferry, when he gave me two pieces of information, one of an island he purchased of us, which the war prevented us from confirming to him; and the other of the delinquency of one Litso, who wishes to detain the money due in part for a farm over the Susquehanna, tho' there is an incumbrance in our favor, on it, to the amount of six or seven hundred pounds, going on upon interest. The waters being high, we ferried across with difficulty, and almost dropped down to a very rapid part below the landing place; but at length escaped a disagreeable situation. About two miles from the river passed the house of Whitehill the Assemblyman,[1] and arrived about three at Carlisle, seventeen miles off. The first buildings seen here are three or four separate wings, intended for magazines originally,[2] but said to be granted by Congress to the trustees of Dickinson College for twenty years; tho' upon inquiry I find they are negotiating, but have not concluded a bargain. The present college or school-house is a small patched-up building of about sixty by fifteen feet. The apartments of the public buildings are casually inhabited, and Dr. Nesbit,[3] the head of the college, lives in one. I found my landlord, tho' an Irishman, possessed of the free and easy style to a great degree. It was difficult indeed to persuade him, for any length of time, that I was able to forego the pleasure of his society.

April 12. After breakfast went out to take a walk, and

[1] Robert Whitehill; he resided at the present village of Whitehill, where there is a large soldiers' orphans' school. He was born in Lancaster County, 1736, and died in Cumberland, 1813, and is buried in Silver Spring Churchyard. He was long in the public service—assemblyman and congressman—for more than twenty years. See, also, *Rupp*, Cumberland Co., p. 438.

[2] These buildings were erected by the Continental Congress in 1777. They were occupied by the college for some time, until they were converted into cavalry barracks.

[3] Dr. Charles Nesbit, of Montrose, Scotland, President of the college from 1785 until the time of his death in 1804.

persevered in spite of the rain, till I arrived at the head of a spring,[1] which sends a rivulet about three miles to the town. I returned by the opposite bank. Immediately after dinner called upon Gen. Armstrong[2] to inquire of him whether the surveys of our lands, he had made in this neighbourhood, had been returned into the office. This served me for introduction, as I had been careless of providing letters. However, he was just setting out to call upon a Mr. Montgomery, and visit me together with him. We convened at the tavern, and were soon joined by Col.[3] the brother of Dr. Magaw,[4] a professor at the University of Philadelphia. A principal part of the conversation was on the subject of our estate in the environs, which, lying at hand, was of course interesting to them all. Gen. Armstrong assured me that every survey he made had been returned, and that this had been a consolation to him when his papers were formerly destroyed by fire. In the middle of it we were interrupted by the arrival of a countryman who had been disappointed by Mr. Francis, as our agent, in a bargain for some neighbouring land.

Carlisle is an incorporated town, and seems about the size of Reading; it has an English church (which is not the case at Reading), tho' the Presbyterian church is the most conspicuous, and the best built. There are many Irishmen among the poor of this county, who are all opposed to the new government, proposed by the late convention. They appear much more to prefer the English system.

April 13. Rose early in order to see a cave near Conedogwinit creek, in which water petrifies, as it drops from the roof. Returned and pursued my route to a place called Lisburn, tho' it proved somewhat out of my way. Just at this spot the country is romantic. The name of the creek running thro' it, *Yellow-breeches creek*, may, indeed be unworthy of it. From hence the road lay thro' woods till the Susquehanna,

[1] Probably at the site of the First Presbyterian Church, on the bank of the Conodoguinet, two miles west of the town of Carlise.

[2] Gen. John Armstrong the Elder.—See The Pennsylvania Magazine, vol. i. p. 183.

[3] Col. Robert Magaw.

[4] Rev. Samuel Magaw.

and Harrisburg at a distance denoted that the ferry was at hand. I crossed the river about three and a half o'clock, surrounded by enchanting prospects. The ride to Middletown is along the eastern bank, and exhibits a striking sample of the *great*, in the opposite one, rising to a vast height, and wooded close to the water's edge for many miles. From this vast forest, and the expansive bed of the river navigable to its source for craft carrying two tons burden, the ideas of grandeur and immensity rush forcibly upon the mind, mixed with the desert-wildness of an uninhabited scene. The first particular object on this road is Simpson's house,[1] the owner of the ferry where I crossed. It is on a rock across the river. At Middletown I put up at one More's, who was a teacher formerly at Philadelphia of Latin and Greek. He talked very sensibly, chiefly on subjects which discovered him to be a warm tory, and friend of passive obedience. Unlike many tories, he is an enemy of the new constitution. Here the Great Swatara joins the Susquehanna, and a very fine mill is kept at their confluence by Mr. Frey, a Dutchman, to whom I carried a letter from Mr. D. Clymer.

Several trees, before I arrived at the Susquehanna-ferry, had been girdled, as it is termed, that is cut all around thro' the bark, so as to prevent their continuing alive. This operation in a country so abounding in timber, saves the too great trouble of cutting down every tree whose leaves might obstruct the men's operation upon the corn.

April 14. Before my departure, Mr. Frey showed me his excellent mill, and still more extraordinary mill-stream, running from one part of Swatara for above a mile till it rejoins

[1] It was the residence of Gen. Michael Simpson, is yet standing, and is very spacious. It is directly opposite the Penna. Steel Works; they are at the "Chambers's ferry" of 1750. Simpson was a lieutenant at the storming of Quebec, and went through the Revolution with great credit. He was brother-in-law to Rev. Col. John Elder, had three wives, but left no issue. Born in Paxtang 1748, died 1813, buried under a handsome monument in Paxtang Church-yard. At his death he was a Major-General of the Pennsylvania Militia. See, also, *Campaign against Quebec*, by John Joseph Henry, Albany, 1877, p. 30.

it at the mouth. It was cut by himself, with great expense and trouble, and is the only work of the kind in Pennsylvania. Middletown is in a situation as beautiful as it is adapted to trade, and already of a respectable size. I left it threatened by rain, which came on rather violently soon after, and the roads proved the worst of the whole journey, till that time. I passed thro' Elizabethtown, eight miles off, and over the creeks (or small rivers) of Conewago and Chickesalunga. As you leave Dauphin for Lancaster county, the lands improve, and at a place half way from Middletown, where I stopped for my horses, and to avoid the rain, it was said to be worth £15 per acre. There are some handsome farm-houses nearer Lancaster. The town itself has a far superior appearance to any I had passed thro'. The streets are regular, and the sides are paved with brick, like Philadelphia, or else stone; and separated by posts from the street.

April 15. I rode alone over to the Blue-rock, and spent a great part of the day in examining the grounds, not returning till dusk. The consequence of this ride was the resolution I made of keeping or purchasing near two hundred acres round a spot admirably calculated for a country-seat. It is the highest situation there, and commands the distant banks of the Susquehanna, and several islands, which might many of them be collected into one front prospect. The grounds behind and of each side fall finely, and may be seen from this spot to the extent of the above-mentioned number of acres, except in a few low places, in some of which a strong supply of water runs thro' excellent meadow-lands now perfectly green. The road wants frequent direction.

April 16. Set out for Nottingham, and crossing Conestoga creek in the Philadelphia road, left it on the opposite bank, pursuing the right hand road along the creek. At Haynes town there is the appearance of a small village, and one neat brick house. The lands fall to a very few pounds per acre about half way from Lancaster. This country is acknowledged friendly to the new constitution, tho' I happened to converse, on the road, with but one for it, but two against it. The former's argument was that matters could not be

worse, nor taxes higher. He informed me that a farm of four hundred acres in this part (where land is as just now mentioned) brought £60 per annum clear of all expenses.

Crossed Octarara creek, and arrived about four at the single house (the Horse and Groom) next to Nottingham Meeting house. Forty acres here were granted by William Penn to a society of Quakers as a place of worship. The distant lands are seen from the tavern, which are the subject of dispute, owing to the boundary lines being long uncertain between Pennsylvania and Maryland. The people were meeting and consulting previous to the purposed decision of the affair at Annapolis, next May. Being somewhat fatigued, stayed here this night, tho' little fresh information could be obtained of my claims to these lands.

April 17. The country is pleasantly varied in the ride from this place to Wilmington. At Newark, is the most considerable collection of houses I had seen since Lancaster. The Elk is crossed upon this road; and the country is plentifully watered here by small streams. Newport, within a few miles of Wilmington, has still more houses than Newark, and a good brick tavern, which provided proper entertainment for horse and man. The kitchen door being ajar, I was amused by a war of words between Perrins and Rapilius, two rustics completely drunk, and by degrees becoming less intelligible. Each seemed perfectly apprised of the ŏther's, tho' unconscious of his own, aberration from propriety.

At Wilmington, after a twenty-four miles ride, closed the evening agreeably by waiting upon Mrs. and Miss Vining.[1]

[1] An account of this lady, so well known in society at the close of the last century, will be found in the *Reminiscences of Wilmington*, by Elizabeth Montgomery, p. 150.

MEMORIALS OF COL. JEHU EYRE.

CONTRIBUTED AND EDITED BY

PETER D. KEYSER, M. D.

Col. Eyre was born in Burlington, N. J., January 21, 1738. His father, George Eyre, of Nottinghamshire, England, came to America in 1727, and settled in Burlington, N. J., and married Mary Smith of that place in 1730. He had four sons, three of whom, Manuel, Jehu, and Benjamin George, were early and active on the side of liberty and freedom during the troubles between these Colonies and the mother country.

The family of Eyre, founded in England by Baron William le Eyr, a Norman, who went with William the Conqueror over from Normandy, and who lost his leg at the battle of Hastings, 1066 (in commemoration of which the crest of the family has always been a leg in armor, couped and spurred), became quite a large and noble family, intermarrying with some of the most prominent houses of England. It has developed many distinguished and titled men, and to this day, although extinct in the peerage, is a well known and very highly respected family in Great Britain.

George Eyre, of Nottinghamshire, who came to this country, was a lineal descendant in this family; he being the great-grandson of Sir Gervaise Eyre, of Newbold and Keneton, county of Derby, and his wife Mary, daughter of George Neville, Esq., of Thorney, Nottinghamshire. With a staid, steady determination for prosperity, and seeing in the near future the commercial progress of this country, and the necessity of vessels to carry on the increasing trade with the mother land, George Eyre sent his two sons, Manuel and Jehu, to Philadelphia, or rather to Kensington, Philadelphia County, the then ship-building place on the Delaware, to

learn the trade of shipwright with Richard Wright, the leading ship and boat builder of that day.

In 1760 Jehu, then 23 years of age, having learned his business thoroughly, was engaged by the government to take command of a party of boat builders to go to Fort Pitt to build bateaux for the navigation of the Ohio River and its tributaries running in that part of the country, lately captured from the French and Indians.

Having prepared everything for the journey to the then considered Far West, the party, consisting of the following persons, set out on the 22d day of May with a wagon containing their tools, baggage, and camping utensils, and marched to their place of destination in stages, as noted in a pocket diary which Jehu Eyre kept, as follows:—

Names of the party for Fort Pitt,

John Midwinter,
Isaac Middleton,
Samuel Duenshear [Devonshire?],
William Flood,
Daniel Delaney,
Nathaniel Goforth,
George Careless,
Henry Bragg,
Friend Streeton,
Thomas Smith,
John Barter,
Daniel Rambo,
David Row,
James Tull,
Wm. McAllister,
and
George[1] (the sawyer).

Jehu Eyre's Diary.

May 22, 1760. Set out from Philad[a] about 12 of the clock, and reached the Sign of the Plow, about 13 miles that day.

23*d.* Friday the 23d we got to the Sign of the Stage Waggon, about 29 miles that day.

24*th.* We crossed the Conestoga about two of the clock in the afternoon. We got into Lancaster about 3 of the clock, and there we staid all that night. About 24 miles that day.

[1] It appears that Mr. Eyre did not know the last name of this man, for in his accounts with him for money, goods, etc., paid him he calls him always George the sawyer.

25*th.* Set out from Lancaster about 9 of the clock on Sunday the 25th, and got to the Sign of the Plow, about 21 miles that day. At Lancaster drew provisions, but no rum.

26*th.* Monday y^e^ 26 day we got to the Pyne [Pine] ford, about 9 of the clock. It is about 10 miles from Harris' ferry. We crossed Sweet arrow [Swatara] about 10 of the clock. We got 7 quarts of bonny clabber for our dinner for 14 pence. Got to Harris' ferry about 4 o'clock, and crossed the Susquehanna about 5 o'clock, and reached to Tobias Henrick's [Hendricks] about 3 miles from the Susquehanna—36 miles in the day.

27*th.* We got to Carlisle about 12 of the clock on Tuesday. It is about 15 miles from Harris' Ferry, and there we staid all night.

28*th.* Wednesday the 28th we staid all that day at Carlisle.

29*th.* Thursday y^e^ 29 we set out from Carlisle about 6 of the clock, and got to Shippistown[1] about 4 of the clock, and there we staid all night. It is about 21 miles from Carlisle.

30*th.* Friday the 30th we set out from Shippistown, and about 4 miles from London[2] Tom Smith and myself milked a cow and made a good meal. We got to London about 5 o'clock. It is about 26 miles from Shippistown. About 2 in from London we staid all night in the woods.

31*st.* Saturday y^e^ 31 we got to a cabin in the woods, and there we staid all night. It is about 3 miles from Fort Littleton,[3] and from Fort to Fort about 18 miles.

June 1*st.* June y^e^ 1st, Sunday, we got to Sidling hill, about 8 miles from Fort Littleton. There we pitched our tent, and then we staid all night in the woods.

2*d.* Monday we crossed Sidling hill on the Blue Mountains about 8 of the clock, and 10 miles from Littleton. We crossed

[1] So pronounced, now Shippensburg.

[2] Fort Loudon, Franklin Co. In 1756 it was called Loudon town, in which year the Fort was built. *See History of Franklin Co., Pa.*, I. H. McCauley.—Ed.

[3] In the N. E. part of the present Fulton Co. It was named for Lord George Lyttelton, who, in 1755, was Chancellor of the Exchequer.—Ed.

the Juniata about 6 o'clock. It is about 18 miles from Fort Littleton. We got about four miles from the Juniata. We got about 15 miles that day.

3*d.* Tuesday y^e^ 3d we got to Bedford[1] about 12 of the clock. It is about 16 miles from the Juniata. We staid all night in the Hospital.

4*th.* Wednesday y^e^ 4 we staid all that day and did nothing.

5*th.* Thursday y^e^ 5 we went to work at a shed for Captain Ourry.[2]

6*th.* Friday y^e^ 6 it rained all the forenoon, and the afternoon we went to work at the shed.

7*th.* Saturday y^e^ 7 we were at work at the Stable.

8*th.* Sunday y^e^ 8 we worked at the sheds and making fence.

9*th.* Monday y^e^ 9 we did nothing but walk about.

10*th.* Tuesday y^e^ 10 we went to work at the storehouses in the Fort. They have six six-pounders in that Fort.

11th. Wednesday y^e^ 11 we went to work out in the woods to cut rafters for a log house.

12*th.* Thursday y^e^ 12 we did nothing at all but walk about.

13*th.* Friday y^e^ 13 went to work in the woods to cut logs for the sawyers.

14*th.* Saturday y^e^ 14 went to work in the woods to cut logs for the sawyers.

15*th.* Sunday y^e^ 15 we did nothing, but I went in the woods a gunning, and I caught a turtle.[3]

16*th.* Monday y^e^ 16 we did nothing. We cooked the turtle, and all our company had a good dinner.

17*th.* Tuesday y^e^ 17 we started from Fort Bedford, and got to the Shawnees Cabin; and there we encamped and staid all night, 10 miles that day. It was a very rainy night.

18*th.* Wednesday y^e^ 18 we set out on our march. It was a rainy day, and got to the top of the Allegheny Mountain, 8 miles that day.

[1] Fort Bedford, formerly Raystown.—Ed.

[2] Of the Royal American Regt. His letters in the possession of the Historical Society are signed L^t^ Ourry.—Ed.

[3] No doubt a snapper, P. D. K.

19*th.* Thursday y^e^ 19 we set out upon our march, and reached to Colonel Armstrong's breast works, and there we encamped all night. About 11 miles that day.

20*th.* Friday y^e^ 20 we set out on our march, and crossed Stony Creek about 6 of the clock, there is a small Fort here. From Fort to Fort is 32 miles. We got to Drownded, or Kick-and-a-Poke run that day. 10 miles that day.

21*st.* Saturday ye 21 we set out on our march, and reached Fort Ligonier. About 14 miles that day. From Fort to Fort 21 miles. They have got there two mortars, and three cowhorns,[1] and three six-pounders.

22*d.* Sunday y^e^ 22 we did nothing but walk about and take our pleasure.

23*d.* Monday y^e^ 23d we [drew] 25 Axes.

24*th.* Tuesday 24th we loaded all the wagons, and set off from Fort Ligonier, and got to the four-mile run; and there we staid all night.

25*th.* Wednesday y^e^ 25 we went to work at making a bridge over the four-mile run; and there we staid all night.

26*th.* Thursday 26 we finished off the bridge, and staid all that night.

27*th.* Friday 27 we set out on our march; and about 15 miles that day.

28*th.* Saturday y^e^ 28 we got to the Block house about 4 o'clock. It is about 39 miles from Ligonier. We got four miles farther than the block house that day. 20 miles that day.

29*th.* Sunday y^e^ 29 we set out on our march, and 14 miles from Pittsburg we found a dead man close by the road. We got 10 miles that day.

30*th.* Monday y^e^ 30 we got into Fort Pitts about 12 of the clock, and we did nothing that day.

July 1. Tuesday y^e^ 1 we went to work at building batteaux.

4*th.* Friday y^e^ 4 we drew lots for to go up the river against the french fort, and it fell out upon Lum [Denn?] and Brag,

[1] Cohorns.

and Freats [Fritz, Fred Streeter?] and Tull, but John Midwinter went in Brag's stead.

7*th.* Monday y^e^ 7 they set off, and went over the river Alleghany.[1]

10*th.* Thursday 10 we went to work at the bomb proof. It is about one hundred and eighty feet long, and twenty-four broad.

11*th.* Friday y^e^ 11 we were at work.

12*th.* Saturday y^e^ 12 we were at work at the bomb proof.

13*th.* Sunday 13 we were at work at the bomb proof.

14*th,* Monday y^e^ 14 we were at work at the bomb proof.

15*th.* Tuesday y^e^ 15 we were at work at the bomb proof.

16*th.* Wednesday y^e^ 16 we were at work at the bomb proof a caulking of it.

17*th.* Thursday y^e^ 17 we were a caulking of the bomb proof.

18*th.* Friday y^e^ 18 we were a making of punchings. [Puncheons.]

19*th.* Saturday y^e^ 19 we were a making of punchings.

20*th.* Sunday y^e^ 20 we were a caulking of the bomb proof.

21*st.* Monday y^e^ 21 we were at work at the bomb proof.

22*d.* Tuesday y^e^ 22 we were at work hewing timber for a scow.

23*d.* Wednesday y^e^ 23 I was sick, and did no work.

24*th.* Thursday y^e^ 24 I was at work hewing of timbers for the scow.

25*th.* Friday 25 we were at work a hewing of timber for the bateaux.

26*th.* Saturday y^e^ 26 was a caulking of a bateau, and we drew lots who should go to Wenango [Venango], and it fell out upon Samuel Deninshear [Duenshear], but they made Daniel Dillany [Delaney] go in his stead.

27*th.* Sunday y^e^ 27 was at work at building of a scow.

[1] This party probably accompanied a detachment of five hundred and fifty men, which a letter of Col. James Burd, written from Fort Pitt July 15th. informs us had gone under the command of Col. Bouquet to take possession of Presqu' Isle. A journal of the march will be found in vol. ii. PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, p. 149.

28*th.* Monday y^e^ 28 was at work at the scow.

29*th.* Tuesday y^e^ 29 Bragg and myself went to work at building of a bateau. There were 13 bateaux set off for to go to Wenango to-day.

30*th.* Wednesday y^e^ 30 we were at work at the bateaux.

31*st.* Thursday y^e^ 31 we were at work at the bateaux. There was a company of men set out to-day for to go to Wenango.

August 1. August y^e^ 1 we were at work at the bateaux.

2*d.* Saturday y^e^ 2 we were at work at the bateaux. There was a catfish caught that was four foot long, and 10½ inches across his eyes.

3*d.* Sunday y^e^ 3 we were at work at the bateaux.

4*th.* Monday y^e^ 4 we were at work at the bateaux.

5*th.* Tuesday y^e^ 5 was at work at the bateaux. There was a great many Indians came in to-day, and the guns were fired for joy.

6*th.* Wednesday y^e^ 6 were at work at the bateaux, and Thursday—and Friday—and Saturday.

10*th.* Sunday y^e^ 10 we had a holiday, and all that was in the garrison were reviewed, and all our names were called over.

11*th.* Monday 11 and Tuesday 12 we were at work at the bateaux.

13*th.* Wednesday y^e^ 13 we were at work at the bateaux, and the Indian treaty begun to-day.

14*th.* Thursday y^e^ 14 we were at work at the bateaux; and the bateaux came down from Wenango to-day; and the men that were at Wenango had not ate no bread for five days before the bateaux got there.

15*th.* Friday y^e^ 15 we were at work at the bateaux.

16*th.* Saturday y^e^ 16 we were at work at the bateaux.

17*th.* Sunday y^e^ 17 we were a caulking of the bateaux for to go to Venango.

18*th.* Monday y^e^ 18 we were at work at the bateaux, and about 10 bateaux set off to Venango. The Indian treaty broke up, and a great many presents made to them, blankets and coats and gold and silver laced hats, and ruffle shirts and

kettles, and rum, which all doth amount to about two hundred pounds.[1]

19*th.* Tuesday y^e^ 19 we were at work at the bateaux.

20*th.* Wednesday y^e^ 20 we were at work at the bateaux. Over the river Alleghany where the Indians encamped, one Indian killed another, and the other Indians were in search for to kill him; for it is their law. It was a Dalloway [Delaware] killed a Mohawk.

21*st.* Thursday y^e^ 21 were at work at the bateaux. There was a catfish caught that weighed 94½ pounds.

22*d.* Friday y^e^ 22 we were at work at the bateaux.

23*d.* Saturday y^e^ 23 we were at work at the bateaux.

24*th.* Sunday y^e^ 24 we were at work at the bateaux. In the woods where the carpenters are at work there was a party of Indians came and took three of their horses, and carried them off.

25*th.* Monday y^e^ 25 we finished 4 bateaux

26*th.* Tuesday y^e^ 26 Samuel Deninshear and myself went over the river Minongohela to cut knees for bateaux.

27*th.* Wednesday and Thursday and Friday we were a cutting of knees for batteaux, and Saturday and Sunday y^e^ 31 we were a cutting of knees for bateaux.

September 1. September y^e^ 1, it was Monday. Samuel Deninshear and myself went into the woods to cut knees, but instead of cutting of knees, we set off through the woods to go to Braddock's field, and on our journey we met with several Indian huts which the Indians had left; and when we came to the place where they crossed of the river Monongahela, we saw a great many men's bones along the shore. We kept along the road about 1½ miles, where the first engagement begun, where there are men's bones lying about as thick as the leaves do on the ground; for they are so thick that one lies on top of another for about a half a mile in length, and about one hundred yards in breadth. There was a tree cut in half with one of the cannon balls. The tree was about 2 feet and a half over; and the place is about 15 miles from

[1] For minutes of this conference *see* vol. iii. *Penna. Archives*, p. 744.

Fort Pitt. Where Major Grant had his defeat is about one mile from Fort Pitt.

2*d.* Tuesday y^e^ 2 I was a caulking of a bateau for Mr. Sheppard.

3*d.* Wednesday and Thursday and Friday we were at work in the woods. Friday we came home to the Fort.

6*th.* Saturday and Sunday and Monday I was lame in my hand, and did not do anything. Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday I was lame.

11*th.* Thursday y^e^ 11 three Indians brought in a Cherokeee's skalp (scalp), which they got at fort Detroit.

Friday and Saturday I was at work at the bateaux. This day fifteen bateaux set off to Venango with provisions.

14*th.* Sunday y^e^ 14 we were at work at the bateaux.

15*th.* Monday y^e^ 15 we went in the woods to cut logs for a storehouse, and we got enough cut.

26*th.* On Friday y^e^ 26 the bateaux came down from Venango.

28*th.* Sunday y^e^ 28 we are cutting of logs for another storehouse.

October 1 & 2. October y^e^ 1 and 2 I was caulking of a scow. This day we had great rejoycing for Montreal being taken. For which we had the guns fired, and three dozen of sky rockets at night.

3*d.* This day we were working at Grant's Hill hewing of logs.

4*th.* Saturday y^e^ 4 we went to work at a bomb proof in the fort. It is about one hundred and eighty foot long.

5*th.* Sunday y^e^ 5 we were at work at the bomb proof.

6*th.* Monday y^e^ 6 and Tuesday we were at work at the bomb proof.

Wednesday and Thursday and Friday and Saturday and Sunday we were at work at the bomb proof.

Sunday there was a party of men came down from Pisskill,[1] which they were 12 days a coming down.

Monday and Tuesday and Wednesday and Thursday we were a caulking of the bomb proof.

[1] Presqu' Isle, now Erie.

17*th.* Friday y^e^ 17 we got orders to go to Pisskill.

18*th.* Saturday y^e^ 18 we crossed Alleganey river about 11 o'clock, and we got about 4 miles that day. We had a very rainy night.

19*th.* Sunday y^e^ 19 we got about 14 miles that day. We came to an old french encampment.

20*th.* Monday y^e^ 20th we got about 22 miles that day. It is a very barren country; nothing but hills and hollows; no timber on the land for hundreds of acres. We came by several french encampments.

21*st.* Tuesday y^e^ 21 we got about 24 miles that day. Very swampy land.

22*d.* Wednesday y^e^ 22 we came across about 10 Indians who were a hunting. We bought two quarters of venison for 4 shillings. We got about 20 miles that day.

23*d.* Thursday y^e^ 23 we got to Venango. There was an old french fort. We have got a block house built there. We crossed the French creek that day. We got about 20 miles that day.

24*th.* Friday y^e^ 24 we came to the Cattawa town. There are about 25 houses there, all Dalloway [Delaware?] Indians live there. We got about 20 miles that day. We had a very rainy day and night. The Indians stole two of our horses, but they gave them to us again.

25*th.* Saturday y^e^ 25 we went through 2 of the Indian towns. We crossed three very bad creeks. We got about 12 miles that day. Very low swampy land.

26*th.* Sunday y^e^ 26 we crossed the French river [Creek] on rafts. We got about 8 miles that day.

27*th.* Monday y^e^ 27 we crossed 4 creeks. We got about 12 miles that day. Very swampy land.

28*th.* Tuesday y^e^ 28 we crossed Le Boeuf creek, and we got there about 10 o'clock. Le Boeuf is an old french fort, but we have got a block house and stockade fort there. There is a lake about half a mile from the fort, it is about one mile across.

29*th.* Wednesday y^e^ 29 we set off from Le Boeuf to go to Pisskill, and there was a settler that came up along with us,

was robbed on the road by three frenchmen. We got to Pisskill about 5 o'clock. It is about 15 miles from fort to fort. There is a bridge on the road 10 miles long.[1]

30*th.* Thursday y^e^ 30 we went in the woods to cut logs for bateaux. Pisskill stands on rising ground, and there is a fine block house built. There is a fine prospect of the Lake Erie. This lake is about 70 leagues across.

31. Friday y^e^ 31 we went in the woods to cut timber for bateaux.

November 1. November y^e^ 1 we were a cutting of timber for bateaux.

2d. Sunday y^e^ 2 we were a making of oars for Major Rodgers'[2] whale boats.

3*d.* Monday y^e^ 3 we were at work at making oars.

4*th.* Tuesday y^e^ 4 we were at work at the bateaux. Major Rodgers set off to Fort Detroit, for to take possession of it, with about one hundred and fifty Rangers, and about one hundred Royal Americans.

5*th.* Wednesday 5—Thursday y^e^ 6, and Friday y^e^ 7, and Saturday y^e^ 8 we were at work at the bateaux.

9*th.* Sunday and Monday and Tuesday and Wednesday we were making of oars for the bateaux. A party of Major Rodgers' men went off to Fort Detroit with provisions.

Thursday and Friday and Saturday and Sunday and Monday we were at work at the bateaux.

18*th.* Tuesday y^e^ 18 we launched two bateaux, and they set off to Niagara to fetch provisions, for we had only one day's provisions in the fort. This day we were forced to kill Colonel Cockerill's milk cow, for we had no meat in the garrison.

18*th.* Tuesday y^e^ 18 set off Colonel Messer[3] and Colonel Cockerill to go to Fort Pitt.

19*th.* Wednesday 19 we were at work at the bateaux.

20*th.* Thursday y^e^ 20 I went over to the Peninsula to cut knees. It is a point of land that runs out about 5 miles long,

[1] This was a corduroy road, and existed within the recollection of persons now living.

[2] The well-known Major Robert Rodgers.

[3] Hugh Mercer, afterwards General Mercer.

and about one mile broad. The French have had two large store houses there, and a big dwelling house.

21*st.* Friday and Saturday we were at work at the bateaux.

Sunday and Monday we were at work at the bateaux, and finished of the sixth.

25*th.* Tuesday y^e^ 25 we made oars for the bateaux. This day we had a fine feast upon a bullock's liver.

Wednesday we set off from Pisskill, and we got to Le Boeuf. It is about 15 miles. There was a Corporal and six men came from Niagara to Pisskill, and they were seven days without any victuals.

Thursday we were a building of two bateaux.

28*th.* Friday y^e^ 27 [28?] we set off from Le Boeuf, and Sunday we came to the Cuscologo[1] town, and there we bought venison and bread of them.

December. Monday y^e^ 1 [2?] we got to Venango, and there we drew two days of flour for to take us to Fort Pitt. They had no meat for to give.

Thursday y^e^ 4 [5?] we got to Fort Pitt. We were three days coming down.

[1] On a manuscript map, in the collections of the Historical Society, the name is given Custalogas. The location of the town was on the west side of the river Le Bouef, or French Creek, about half way between Forts Venango and Le Boeuf.

(To be continued.)

WILLIAM BURNET, M.D.

BY JOSEPH P. BRADLEY, LL.D., JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT UNITED STATES.

(Centennial Collection.)

Dr. William Burnet, of Newark, New Jersey, was elected, by the Legislature of that State, a delegate to the General Congress on the 23d of November, 1780, for the term of one year; it being the practice of the State of New Jersey to have a new election of delegates after every annual State election in October. His associates were Dr. Witherspoon, Abraham Clark, William C. Houston, and William Patterson. Until 1785 the State always sent five delegates. After that only three. Of course it had but one vote in the Congress, and the number of its delegates was in its own option.

Dr. Burnet was born at Lyon's Farms, a small hamlet between Newark and Elizabethtown, N. J., Dec. 2d (O. S.), 1730. His father was Dr. Ichabod Burnet, a physician of much eminence, who died at Elizabethtown in 1774, at the great age of ninety years, being one of the most venerated and distinguished citizens of that town. Ichabod was a grandson of Thomas Burnet, who emigrated from Lynn, Massachusetts, to Southampton, Long Island, prior to 1643. The family tradition is that he was collaterally related to the famous Dr. Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury in William and Mary's time; but the connection, if any existed, is lost in the obscurity of the past. Ichabod Burnet emigrated with his father to Elizabethtown in 1700, then only sixteen years old. He received his education in Edinburgh, and settled first at Lyon's Farms, and afterwards returned to Elizabethtown. He was one of the associates representing the early settlers, who claimed title to the lands of that town by grant from Governor Nichols, adverse to the claim of the general proprietors of the province; and having been a Puritan, and

then a Presbyterian, he naturally took the popular side in all the political controversies of the period. Under such auspices it is not wonderful that his son William, the subject of this sketch, became a warm partisan of the rights of the colonies, and an enemy of prerogative. He had a second son, Ichabod, who also studied medicine, but died at an early age, unmarried.

William Burnet received his academical training in the College of New Jersey, then located at Newark, under the presidency of the Rev. Aaron Burr, and graduated in 1749. Having studied medicine under the direction of Dr. Statts in New York City, he settled in Newark, and in 1753 married Mary, daughter of Captain Nathaniel Camp, a substantial citizen of the town. He was one of the founders of the New Jersey Medical Society, was long an elder in the Presbyterian church, and early became a prominent and leading man in that part of New Jersey. The records of the New Jersey Medical Society, which have been published, contain two addresses delivered by him, which give a very favorable view of his qualifications as a writer.

At the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, Dr. Burnet took an active part in organizing the elements of opposition to British authority. In May, 1775, he was appointed deputy chairman[1] of the Committee of Safety of the town of Newark, formed to support the Continental Congress, and carry out the measures of the proposed Provincial Congress. The burden of management came principally on Dr. Burnet and his two associates, Capt. Joseph Hedden and Major Samuel Hayes, who for a considerable period exercised complete power of local government in Newark and its vicinity, keeping the Tories and disaffected in awe. Dr. Burnet was also appointed chairman of the Essex County Committee of Safety, and in that capacity exercised a large executive control. In March, 1776, at the call of Lord Stirling, he superintended the organization and dispatch of several military companies in aid of the defence of New York.

[1] Lewis Ogden, on account of his family influence, being made chairman.

His eldest son, William, who had also studied medicine, and was then but little over twenty-one years old, went as surgeon of one of the regiments organized under the Doctor's directions. His second son, Ichabod, who was only in his twentieth year, acted as secretary of the County Committee. At a later period, in 1777, the latter became aid-de-camp to General Greene, and attended him in that capacity with the rank of major, to the end of the war, being one of the most efficient and trusted officers of his staff. At the battle of Germantown, during the retreat, a musket ball took off his queue. "Burnet," said the general, "if you have time, you had better jump down and pick up your queue." "And your curls, too, general," responded the aid, observing that another ball had taken off his commander's curls. Greene laughed, but I do not learn that they stopped for the lost ornaments. Dr. Burnet's third son, John, who was sixteen at the breaking out of the war, was unfortunately lame, or he would also, without doubt, have entered the service of his country. As Paine justly said, "those were the times that tried men's souls." The real patriots of that day were in dead earnest, and Dr. Burnet was not alone in giving himself and all the male members of his family to the cause.

The province of New Jersey was situated in the centre of the contest, and although the majority of her people were on the patriotic side, there were very many, and these often persons of wealth and influence, who were either on the fence or outspoken royalists. The old General Assembly sympathized with the people, but were prevented from adopting any effective measures by the activity of the governor, William Franklin, a son of Dr. Franklin, who was a zealous Royalist. Of course the Whigs had to strain every nerve to keep the State in line, and to furnish its quota of aid to the Continental cause. A Provincial Congress was improvised, and regulated public affairs for more than a year; but adopted a provisional constitution on the 2d of July, 1776, under which a State government was organized. One of the first necessities to be provided was money of some sort or other. The Legislature had no other resource than to issue bills of credit. An issue of

£100,000 was ordered; and Hendrick Fisher and Drs. Dunham and Burnet were appointed commissioners to make the issue of £50,000 in East Jersey, and to purchase therewith arms, munitions and equipments for the State troops. In exigencies that affect the national existence, paper money, with all its drawbacks, is sometimes a necessity. Dr. Franklin says it saved the American Republic. The associates of Dr. Burnet on this commission were men of the very first consideration in New Jersey. To Hendrick Fisher, who resided between New Brunswick and Bound Brook, perhaps more than to any other one man, did she owe the spirit of patriotism which animated the masses of her people. He was about eighty years of age at the breaking out of the war; but no one excelled him in energy and enthusiasm in the cause. He was the first president of the Provincial Congress of New Jersey.

Besides these duties pertaining to military operations and local administration, Dr. Burnet was invested with important judicial functions. In September, 1776, he was appointed by the Legislature, presiding judge of the Essex county courts, then a position of much responsibility, which he occupied for ten years. In this capacity he was called upon, in 1778, to preside at the trial of many of his Tory neighbors and friends for furnishing aid to the enemy. The duty was undoubtedly performed with his characteristic firmness and decision, but must have been peculiarly trying to one so noted as he was for kindly courtesy. The object of the proceedings was, to confiscate the property of active royalists. Two of the Ogden family, Isaac and David, were included in the prosecutions, and convicted. They were sons of Hon. David Ogden, long a judge of the Provincial Supreme Court, who joined them in retiring to Canada after the war. David, the younger, subsequently became, I believe, Chief Justice of Canada. They had been on the popular side at the outbreak of the troubles, but the disasters of 1776 led them to suppose that resistance was hopeless, and they, with many others, gave in their adhesion to the British government. The other members of the family, Abraham, a lawyer of Newark, and Samuel, father of Hon. David B. Ogden of New York,

and maternal grandfather of William M. Meredith, remained true to the Colonial cause. The Ogdens had been the leading family of Newark for half a century. Two of the Gouverneurs, Samuel and Isaac, were also proceeded against on this occasion (1778) but were acquitted.

As stated in the commencement of this sketch, Dr. Burnet was elected a delegate to the Continental Congress in November, 1780; but he was soon called upon to perform other duties which prevented his further attending the sittings of that body; and his place was filled in June, 1781, by the appointment of Elias Boudinot.

At the first breaking out of the war he had, principally at his own expense, established a military hospital at Newark for sick and wounded soldiers, and amongst his other arduous duties, had given it much of his personal superintendence. The success of this institution attracted the public attention, and in October, 1780, he was appointed by the General Congress a regular hospital physician and surgeon of the United States. On the 5th of March following, whilst a member of the body, he was appointed chief physician and surgeon of the hospital in the room of Dr. Craik, who was removed to the army. This required him to resign his seat in Congress and gave him the position of surgeon-general of the general hospital, Continental Army,—a position which he filled with distinction and ability during the balance of the war. The Medical service of the Continental Army was divided into two departments, the Hospital, and the Field, or Army, department proper. Dr. Burnet was at the head of the former for the Eastern and Middle States. At the close of the war he became a member of the Society of Cincinnati, and is still represented in the New Jersey State Society by his descendants.

Dr. Burnet died in 1791 at the age of sixty-one years, greatly esteemed and lamented. By his first wife he had, besides daughters, two other sons in addition to those already mentioned; Jacob, afterwards known as the eminent Judge Burnet of Cincinnati; and George, a lawyer, who settled at Dayton, Ohio. At the close of the war he married Gertrude,

widow of Col. Philip Van Cortlandt, of Newark, and daughter of Nicholas Gouverneur, Esq. By her he had three sons, Isaac, Staats, and David; the first of whom was for some time mayor of Cincinnati, and the last, the Hon. David G. Burnet, was the first President of Texas in 1836,—one of the kindliest, and yet firmest and bravest; one of the most adventurous, and yet most polished and cultivated of men. The writer of this notice was acquainted with two of these eminent persons, Judge Jacob Burnet of Cincinnati, and President Burnet of Texas, who, though of different mothers, exhibited the same high moral tone, decision of character, and positive firmness of convictions. These masculine qualities were at the same time united with great kindliness and even sweetness of disposition. Perhaps we may discern in them the lineaments of the father, and form some conjecture as to the grounds of that controlling influence which he exercised over his cotemporaries, and of that general confidence which he seems to have inspired.

That old Newark fireside over which he and Mary Camp presided a hundred years ago, must have been surrounded by a bright and gentle circle, overflowing with patriotic ardor, and united by the warmest affection. One of the daughters, Hannah, mother of Hon. W. Burnet Kinney, of Newark, who survived to a good old age and is recollected by many persons still living, is represented to have been one of the most cultivated, refined and charming ladies of the old regime.

Many years ago an old resident of Newark described to the writer the departure of Ichabod from home for Princeton College in 1772 or 1773. It was a bright summer morning just at sunrise, and Ichabod and a servant, who accompanied him to carry his luggage, were mounted on horseback, ready for the long journey—now made by railroad in less than two hours—but then occupying as many days. His mother and grandmother were out to bid him adieu and give him their parting benedictions. Though affected for the moment, he departed with a face beaming with youthful ardor and hope.

This now seems almost a picture of Arcadian life, so many changes have come around with the revolving century.

Dr. Burnet is still represented in New Jersey and other States by a large number of descendants, who venerate his memory, and have a just pride in his upright character and patriotic services. Among these, besides those of his own name, are the Kents, of New York; the Hornblowers, the Penningtons, the Kinneys, of New Jersey; the Groesbecks, the Wrights, and the Perrys, of Cincinnati.

An honorable name is the richest legacy a man can leave to his descendants. Such a legacy was bequeathed by WILLIAM BURNET.

ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

BY SAMUEL ADAMS DRAKE.

(Centennial Collection.)

No more grateful task could employ an American pen than the rescue of every memorial that may, now, or hereafter, illustrate the lives of the founders of the Republic. It becomes the especial duty of the hour to wipe from history's tablet the accumulated dust of a century, and to re-cut there, in bolder relief, the story of their matchless heroism and devotion. As we perform this duty, as we cherish and protect their visible monuments, the future will judge our worthiness to possess the priceless inheritance of liberty, confided to our care as a sacred trust, won with such infinite toil and sacrifice.

The signers of our great Magna Charta, were no privileged class, though they proved strong enough to wrest far more than their ancient franchises from the throne. There was not a titled name among them. They were merchants, mechanics, lawyers, planters, clergymen or physicians, from every walk of life, essential constituents of the body politic, thoroughly identified with every phase of popular thought or

feeling, and as completely united in the great work to which they pledged life, fortune, and honor. To no one of this illustrious assemblage did the pledge have higher meaning than to Arthur Middleton, of South Carolina.

He was born at the family seat on Ashley River, in 1743. His great-grandfather, Edward Middleton, emigrated to South Carolina soon after its settlement. His grandfather, for whom he was named, and who was also of English birth, had put himself at the head of the revolutionary movement of 1719, which extinguished the vexatious rule of the proprietary government. His father, Henry Middleton,[1] was chosen by the first convention of the people, in 1774, a delegate to the Congress at Philadelphia. Arthur Middleton, the Signer, was, therefore, a patriot by tradition and by descent.

In accordance with an old custom which prevailed among the gentry of the Southern Colonies and which has survived to our own time, Arthur was sent to England to be educated. He was placed in a school at Hackney and later at Westminster: finally entering Cambridge at eighteen to graduate with honor in 1764. Upon quitting the halls of the University, Arthur travelled in England and on the continent, making a long stay in Rome, where his grave and thoughtful cast of mind found ample food for study and reflection among her eloquent memorials of antique greatness and splendor.

Returning in 1768 to his native country, Arthur was considered to have completed the preparation indispensable for one of the wealthy and even aristocratic class which derived all its traditions from that mother-land of which they still spoke with pride and affection as "home." Shortly after this event, Arthur Middleton married a daughter of Walter Izard. She accompanied him in a second visit to Europe, whence, in 1773, he recrossed the ocean to find the cloud of civil war brooding heavily above his native shores.

Putting aside every consideration which timidity or selfishness might suggest, Arthur Middleton unhesitatingly em-

[1] For sketch of Henry Middleton, see PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, vol. iii. p. 179.

braced the cause of his countrymen. Two days before the battle of Lexington he became a member of a secret committee to take measures for placing the colony in a state of defence. By its timely action the public stores of arms and ammunition were secured to the use of the patriots. He was also chosen, in June, a member of the Council of Safety, which organized a military force, commissioned its officers, and performed other executive functions. Middleton also advocated the extreme measure of seizing the person of the newly-arrived royal governor, Lord Campbell, who while temporizing with the revolutionary party, had written home for the means of crushing it. In 1776 as a member of the Continental Congress, Arthur Middleton signed the Declaration of Independence.

He remained in Congress until the close of the year 1777. South Carolina had formed a new constitution and on a secret ballot for governor, Middleton was chosen. He declined, however, to act, from doubts of the legality of the instrument, which he shared in common with President Rutledge. In 1779, when South Carolina was invaded, Middleton joined the forces which Governor Rutledge was levying for her defence. His estate, from which Mrs. Middleton had fled, was left to the pillage of the enemy. By the capitulation of Charleston he became a prisoner of war; and after nearly a year's detention he was exchanged to be immediately re-elected to Congress, in which he served until November, 1782.

Arthur Middleton died on the first day of the new year, 1788, from disease caused by exposure in his country's service. He left a wife, who survived him until 1814, and eight children. He also left an untarnished name and a memory to be treasured by a great nation, so long as it has a history.

CYRUS GRIFFIN.

LAST PRESIDENT OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

BY CORNELIA FRANCES TAYLOR.

(Centennial Collection.)

Cyrus Griffin was descended from an old Welsh family, —dating as far back in history as the last king of Wales, Llewllyn Griffin, who fell in battle against Edward I. of England, in 1282, after a reign of 28 years. He was the fourth son of Leroy Griffin of Sion House, Lancaster County, Virginia, and Mary Anne Bertrand, granddaughter of a Huguenot gentleman who fled from France during the reign of Louis XIV. He was born in 1748, and sent to England to be educated.

It was while attending law lectures in London that Cyrus accepted an invitation from the colonial ambassador, and there met for the first time Lady Christiana—daughter of the sixth earl of Traquair, whom he afterwards married. The first year of their married life was passed at Traquair House in Scotland. Soon after the birth of their first son—John—they came to America, and Lady Christiana never revisited her native land.

After living some time at Sion House—the old family mansion in Virginia—Mr. Griffin was elected in 1778 a member of Congress: and the last session of the Continental Congress was organized on the 2d of January, 1788, by the election of Cyrus Griffin as President of that body. He was also a judge of the Supreme Court until his death.

The entertainments of Cyrus Griffin while President of Congress are mentioned as frequent and hospitable, but characterized by simplicity and temperance. Brissot de Warville an intelligent Frenchman, in his "Travels in America," writes: "Mr. Griffin is a man of good abilities, of an agreeable figure, affable and polite. I remarked that his table

was freed from many usages observed elsewhere; no fatiguing presentations; no toasts, so annoying in a numerous society. Little wine was drunk after the ladies retired. These traits will give an idea of the temperance of this country—temperance, the leading virtue of republicans."

Lady Christiana, though in delicate health, showed herself friendly towards all. They had four children: Judge John Griffin, died unmarried; Mary, married her cousin Major Thomas Griffin,; Louisa, married Col. Hugh Mercer, son of Gen. Mercer who fell at the battle of Princeton; and Dr. Samuel Stuart Griffin, married Miss Lewis of Westover, Va.

After his retirement from public life, Cyrus Griffin lived in Virginia, until his decease, which took place in Yorktown, in the year 1810. The following obituary notice appeared at the time of his death:—

"Died, on Friday 14th December, at York, the Hon. Cyrus Griffin, Judge of the United States Court for the District of Virginia. He was a gentleman highly respected for his eminent virtues, his integrity and independence. He has filled many public appointments, and always with honor to himself, and with advantage to the country."

He was noted for devotion to his family and for steadfastness in friendship. Rufus W. Griswold, in his "Republican Court," speaks of him as being "conspicuous for his devotion to American liberty; and few men from Virginia shared more largely the respect and confidence of Washington."

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1776.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF ITS MEMBERS.

BY WM. H. EGLE, M.D.

(Continued from page 201.)

COATS, WILLIAM, of the county of Philadelphia, was a native of that county, and was born in 1721. He received a good education at the Friends' School. During the Provincial era Major Coats was one of the few officers from Philadelphia in the military service. He was a delegate to the Provincial Conference of January 23, 1775; member of the Conference at Carpenters' Hall, June 28, 1775; one of the Committee of Inspection of Philadelphia, his district being the Northern Liberties; and of the Convention of July 15, 1776. In 1775 he was chosen Major of the 1st Battalion of Philadelphia Associators, and during the winter of 1776–7 was constantly in active service. On the 4th of January, 1777, he wrote from Bristol an account of the battle of Princeton. In 1777 he served as a member of the Assembly, but the tented field had more charms for him, and he again entered the service. He was captured by the British in the spring of 1778, and confined in one of the rooms of the new jail in Philadelphia about two months, when he was released on parole, but was not exchanged until 1779, when he again acted against the enemy. In 1778 he was commissioned justice of the peace and common pleas for the township of Northern Liberties. In 1779 he was a member of the Assembly, and died while serving in that body, January 24, 1780. His wife, Martha, born Feb. 11, 1738, died July 17, 1795. Major Coats was one of the most indefatigable and gallant officers of the Revolution, and his name should have been perpetuated in his native city by the street named for him, but recently changed to Fairmount Avenue. The family name is now Coates.

Cook, Edward, of Westmoreland County, was born in 1738, of English parentage, in the Cumberland Valley, on the Conecocheague, then in Lancaster, now Franklin County, Pennsylvania. In 1772 he removed to the "Forks of Yough" between the Monongahela and Youghiogheny rivers, now Fayette County, and between that date and 1776 built a stone house, yet standing, where he lived and died. When he first settled in the western part of the State he kept a store, farmed, had a still-house, and owned slaves. He was a member of the Committee of Conference which met at Carpenters' Hall, June 18, 1776, and of the Convention of July 15, 1776. In 1777 he was appointed by the General Assembly one of the Commissioners from this State to meet those from the other States, which assembled at New Haven, Conn., Nov. 22, 1777, to regulate the prices of commodities. In 1781 he was in command of a battalion of rangers for frontier defence. He was sub-lieutenant of Westmoreland County 1780–1, and lieutenant Jan. 5, 1782, which latter office he held at the time of the erection of Fayette County in 1783. On November 21, 1786, Colonel Cook was appointed a justice with jurisdiction including the county of Washington, and August 7, 1791, associate judge of Fayette County. He was a man of influence, and during the Excise troubles in 1794 was chosen chairman of the Mingo Creek meeting, and was largely instrumental in allaying the excitement, and thus virtually ending the so-called Whiskey Insurrection. Col. Cook died on the 28th day of November, 1808. His wife was Martha Crawford of Cumberland, now Franklin County, sister of Col. Josiah Crawford. She died in 1837, aged ninety-four years, in the old stone house into which they moved, as she always said, in "Independence Year." Col. Cook had but one child, James Crawford Cook, who was born in 1772, and died in 1848.

Cooke, William, of Northumberland County, was a native of Donegal Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. He was elected the first sheriff of Northumberland Oct. 1772. He was a member of the Committee of Safety for Northum-

berland, February 8, 1776; of the Provincial Conference of June 18, 1776; and of the Convention of July 15, 1776. On the last day of the session of the latter body he was chosen and recommended as Colonel of the battalion to be raised in the counties of Northampton and Northumberland. This became the 12th regiment of the Pennsylvania Line, and, being composed of riflemen, was employed upon picket duty, and covered the front of Gen. Washington's army during the year 1777, while detachments were sent from it to Gen. Gates, materially assisting in the capture of Burgoyne. It was so badly cut up at Brandywine and Germantown that it was disbanded, and Col. Cooke mustered out of service. In 1781 and 1782 he was chosen to the General Assembly; appointed one of the justices Oct. 3, 1786; and Jan. 16, 1796, an associate judge for Northumberland County. Col. Cooke died in April, 1804.

Coulter, Thomas, of Bedford County, resided in what was formerly Cumberland Valley Township, Bedford County, Pennsylvania, prior to the year 1760. He was one of the Provincial Magistrates in 1774; member of the Convention of July 15, 1776; sheriff of Bedford County Oct. 28, 1778; one of the associate justices of the Court of Common Pleas Dec. 24, 1785; and justice of the peace August 31, 1791, serving until his decease, June 18, 1800. He was the ancestor of Chief Justice Coulter of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.

Crawford, James, of Northumberland County, was a native of Hanover Township, Lancaster, now Dauphin County, Pennsylvania. He located on Pine Creek as early as 1770. He was a member of the Convention of July 15, 1776. On the 8th of October following he was commissioned Major of the 12th Pennsylvania, Col. Cooke's regiment, serving until its disbandonment in 1778. The year following, 1779, he was elected sheriff of Northumberland County.

Crazart, Francis, of York County, was a native of New Jersey. His parents emigrated from Holland, and settled in

that State, but subsequently removed to York, now Adams County, locating near Hunterstown. Mr. Crazart was a member of the Committee of Correspondence for York County in 1775, and a member of the Convention of July 15, 1776. He was not present at the close of the labors of that body, from the fact that his services were required at home in assisting the sending forward of the militia to the Jerseys. On the 2d of May, 1777, he was appointed by the Pennsylvania Board of War, one of the commissioners for York County, to collect blankets for the use of the Continental troops. Mr. Crazart died at Hunterstown and is there buried, but the date is not known. He left several children, one of whom, *David*, was a member of the Legislature a number of years. A daughter married Thomas Burd Coleman. A granddaughter is the wife of Samuel Small, of York. The name *Crazart* has been superseded by that of *Cassat*.

Cunningham, Samuel, of Chester County, was a native of Nantmeal Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania, born about 1737. He was a member of the Convention of July 15, 1776, and of the General Assembly in 1776 and 1777. He was appointed collector of excise November 27, 1778, and justice of the peace August 26, 1791. The will of Samuel Cunningham, Esq. of East Caln, who was "aged and infirm" was dated December 27, 1802, and proved August 12, 1806, with codicils dated June 3, 1803, and February 18, 1804. From this memoranda it would appear that he died in the first week of August, 1806.

Donaldson, Joseph, of York County, was a native of the Province of Maryland, born August 16, 1742. He located in what were termed the "York Barrens"; was an active and energetic Whig, and formed one of the Committee of Correspondence for the county, to succor the Bostonians at the time of the going into effect ot the "Port Bill." He was a delegate to the Provincial Deputies which met July 15, 1774; justice of the peace from 1774 to 1776; member of the Provincial Conference of January 23, 1775; and member of the

Convention of July 15, 1776. He was major of the 1st Battalion of the Associators of York County, July, 1775, and was in service in the Jerseys during the campaign of the year following. On the 8th of November, 1777, he was appointed one of the commissioners to collect clothing for the Continental Army. Major Donaldson died at York about 1790.

Driesbach, Simon, of Northampton County, a native of Witgenstein, Germany, was born February 18, 1730. He came to America about 1754, and settled on a large farm in what is Lehigh Township, Northampton County. He was a member of the Convention of July 15, 1776; member of the Assembly from 1776 to 1780; one of the commissioners for Northampton County appointed by the Pennsylvania War office to collect blankets for the use of the Continental troops, May 2, 1777; and member of the Council of Censors, October 20, 1783. During the progress of the Revolution, Mr. Driesbach rendered efficient service in organizing and maintaining the militia of the county for general and frontier defence, two of his sons being in the army. He was a member of the House of Representatives for the session of 1793–4. He died on his farm near the present town of Weaversville, Northampton County, December 17, 1806.

Duffield, William, of Cumberland County, was born in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, November 24, 1731. He was the grandson of Benjamin Duffield who came with the West Jersey settlers in 1678. About 1760 William Duffield settled on a farm in Cumberland Valley. In 1763 and 1764 he was in the Provincial service under Colonel Bouquet for the defence of the frontiers. He was a member of the Convention of July 15, 1776, and served in the Assembly during that and the following year. He died on his farm near Mercersburg, Franklin County, in January, 1799. Some of his descendants remain near the ancestral home.

Eckert, Valentine, of Berks County, was born in Longa-celva, Kingdom of Hanover, in 1733. He came to America

with his parents in 1740, who settled near Womelsdorf, Berks County, in the valley of the Tulpehocken, and was naturalized in September, 1761. He was a member of the Provincial Conference of June 18, 1776; of the Convention of July 15, 1776; and a member of the Assembly during that year as also in 1779. He commanded a company of cavalry associators at the battle of Germantown, where he was wounded. He was appointed sub-lieutenant of the county March 21, 1777, serving until his appointment as lieutenant of the county, January 6, 1781. He was one of the commissioners for the purchase of provisions for the army in 1778; and appointed one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas, August 4, 1784. He was commissioned Brigade Inspector of Berks County April 11, 1793, an office which he filled for twenty years. About the year 1816, Colonel Eckert removed to Virginia. He died at Winchester in that State, December, 1821, in his 88th year.

Edgar, James, of York County, was a native of that county, of Scotch-Irish ancestry, born November 15, 1744. His father subsequently removed to North Carolina, but young Edgar remained on his farm until the outset of the Revolution. By the Committee of York County, he was chosen a member of the Provincial Conference of June 18, 1776; and elected by the people to the Convention of July 15, following. He was a member of the Assembly 1776–7 from York County; of the Provincial Council of Safety from October 17 to December 4, 1777, when he took his seat in the Supreme Executive Council, an office he filled acceptably until February 13, 1779. In the autumn of this year he removed to Washington County, and upon the organization thereof was appointed one of the justices July 15, 1781, and served in the Supreme Executive Council from November 30, 1781, to December 4, 1782. He was a member of the Council of Censors, November 20, 1783, and chosen to the Assembly in 1785, having previously served in that body in 1781. He represented his county in the Pennsylvania Convention of November 20, 1787, to consider the proposed constitution for the govern-

ment of the United States. He was appointed by Governor Mifflin one of the associate judges of the courts of Washington County, August 19, 1791, serving therein until his death. Judge Edgar was prominent in the so-called Whiskey Insurrection of 1794, on the side of law and obedience thereto; and when the troops marched to quell the disturbance, he was appointed a member of the Committee of Conference to confer with the Commissioners of the United States, and the State of Pennsylvania, relative to a prompt return to State and National allegiance. Judge Edgar was a leading spirit in the Presbyterian Church with which he connected himself at the age of 16. For many years he was a ruling elder in the church, and was nine times a member of Old Redstone Presbytery. Brackenridge, in his "History of the Western Insurrection," states that he was "a kind of Rabbi in the Presbyterian Churches in the Western country." Rev. Dr. Carnahan gives this estimate of his character—"he had a good English education, had improved his mind by reading and reflection; so that in theological and political knowledge he was superior to many professional men . . . he possessed an eloquence which, although not polished, was convincing and persuasive." Judge Edgar died on his farm, on the 1st of January, 1806.

Elliott, Benjamin, of Bedford County, was born in Cumberland now Franklin County, Pennsylvania, in 1752, and settled at the town of Huntingdon prior to the Revolution. He was chosen a member of the Convention of July 15, 1776, and served as a member of the Assembly during that and the following year as one of the representatives for Bedford County. He was commissioned sheriff of that county, October 31, 1785, and of Huntingdon October 22, 1787, after its erection from Bedford; member of the Convention of Pennsylvania to consider the Federal Constitution, November 20, 1787; appointed county lieutenant on the 23d of the same month, and in April, 1789, in conjunction with Matthew Taylor of Bedford and James Harris of Cumberland, appointed to run and mark the boundary lines of Huntingdon

County. He served as treasurer of the county in 1789 and again in 1799; was admitted a member of the Supreme Executive Council, December 29, 1789, and member of the Board of Property, August 3, 1790. On the 17th of August, 1791, he was commissioned one of the associate judges for Huntingdon County. He had previously held the office of justice of the Court of Common Pleas under the constitution of 1776. He was the first chief burgess elected in the borough of Huntingdon after its incorporation in 1796. He was appointed brigadier-general of the militia, 1797, and in 1800 elected County Commissioner. Judge Elliott died at Huntingdon, March 13, 1835, aged 83 years, and lies interred in the cemetery in that borough. He married, First, Mary Carpenter of Lancaster County, and had issue:—*Martha* married David McMurtrie, *Mary* married Robert Allison, and *James*, who became a member of the bar and died unmarried; Second, Sarah, sister of Colonel George Ashman of Three Springs, and had issue:—*Eleanor* married William Orbison, *Harriet* married Jacob Miller, and *Matilda* married Dr. James Stewart of Indiana, Pennsylvania; Third, Susan, daughter of Abraham Haines, and had issue:—*Patience* married Calvin Blythe, *Benjamin*, *Louisa* married Dr. William Yeager, and *John*. Benjamin and John settled near Newark, Ohio, and died there. Judge Elliott was an active and influential citizen. He owned a large amount of real estate in the county and elsewhere, and besides holding the official positions enumerated, carried on the mercantile business in the borough of Huntingdon, and farming on his lands in the vicinity of that place.

Fleming, John, of Chester County, was a grandson of William and Mary (Moore) Fleming, who settled in East Caln now Valley Township, Chester County, about 1715, previously of Bethel, now Delaware County. The family possessions were at first on the east side of Brandywine, at or near the present Coatesville, but they subsequently became owners of large tracts on the west side of the creek in Sadsbury and West Caln townships. Mr. Fleming was born in 1731; was

an officer in the Provincial service; member of the Convention of July 15, 1776, and in 1778 one of the representatives from Chester County in the General Assembly. He was one of the patentees of the land belonging to Octorara Church, of which he was an elder as early as 1762. He died September 2, 1814, and is buried in the graveyard attached to that church. Mr. Fleming was the owner of large tracts of land on the West Branch on which his children located during the Revolutionary period. He was the ancestor of John Fleming, who was for many years an associate judge of Lycoming County, and of General Robert Fleming of Williamsport, a leading lawyer serving in the Senate from that district, and a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1838.

Franklin, Benjamin, of the city of Philadelphia, the son of Josiah Franklin and Mary Folger, was born at Boston, Mass., January 17, 1706. Apprenticed to his brother James as a printer, after a few years, owing to a disagreement, he left home and established himself in Philadelphia. He worked as a journeyman printer in London in 1725, but returned the next year to Pennsylvania, subsequently becoming editor and proprietor of the *Penn'a Gazette*, and publisher of Poor Richard's Almanac, and other publications. In 1731 he assisted in founding the Philadelphia Library; became clerk to the Assembly in 1736; postmaster of Philadelphia in 1737; and in 1753 was deputy postmaster-general of the British Colonies. On Oct. 4, 1748, he was chosen one of the Common Councilmen of the City of Philadelphia; and on Oct. 1, 1751, Alderman. In 1752 he made the discovery of the identity of lightning with the electric fluid. In 1754, as a Commissioner from Penn'a to the Albany Congress, he prepared the plan of Union for the common defence adopted by that body. During the French and Indian wars he was commissioned a Colonel in the Provincial service, and in 1755 superintended the furnishing of transportation for the supplies of Braddock's army. Under his direction most of the frontier forts between the Delaware and Susquehanna were erected. He served as a member of the Assembly from 1751

to 1763, the latter year being Speaker; from 1757 to 1762, and again from 1765 to 1775 he was the agent of the Province to Great Britain, spending most of his time in England, and while there aided in securing the repeal of the obnoxious Stamp Act. In 1762 the Universities of Oxford and Edinburgh conferred on him for his scientific discoveries the degree of LL.D., he having been previously honored with a membership in the Royal Society, and by being the recipient of the Copley gold medal. From 1773 to 1775 he was again elected to the Assembly. Returning to Philadelphia in the spring of 1775 he was chosen member of the Continental Congress. He was a member of the Provincial Conference at Carpenters' Hall June 18, 1775, and of the Committee of Safety from June 30, 1775, to July 22, 1776. While in Congress he was one of the Committee to prepare, as he was also a signer of the Declaration of Independence. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of July 15, 1776, and chosen its President. From the close of 1776 to September, 1785, he was the American Ambassador to France, and secured the treaty of alliance with that country, signed February 6, 1778, which greatly assisted in securing the independence of the Colonies. He took a prominent part in negotiating the preliminary treaty of peace with England, which was signed at Paris, Nov. 30, 1782, and with Adams and Jay signed that at Ghent, Sept. 3, 1783. He was President of Pennsylvania from October 17, 1785, to November 5, 1788, declining on account of his advanced years to continue in office. In May, 1787, he was a delegate to the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States. He died in the city of Philadelphia April 17, 1790. Franklin married in 1730 Deborah Reed, of Philadelphia. They had one daughter, Sarah, who married Richard Bache. Franklin left an interesting autobiography, and was the author of a large number of political works. His son, William Franklin, was the last Royal Governor of New Jersey.

Galbraith. Bartrem of Lancaster County, the eldest son of James Galbraith. Jr., and Elizabeth Bartrem (daughter of the Rev. William Bartrem, Pastor of Derry), was born in

Donegal Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, September 24, 1738. He was of Scotch-Irish origin, and brought up as a surveyor. During the French and Indian wars, Colonel Galbraith served as an officer in a company of rangers formed for the protection of the frontiers. From 1760 to 1775, acting in his professional capacity, he surveyed the greater portion of the lands located in the present counties of Dauphin, Perry, and Juniata. He was a member of the Provincial Convention of January 23, 1775; delegate to the Provincial Conference of June 18, 1776, and member of the Convention of July 15, 1776. During that year was elected colonel of one of the Lancaster County battalions of associators, and was on duty in the Jerseys during the greater portion of that year, serving also as a member of the Assembly 1776–1777. On June 3, 1777, he was appointed county lieutenant; November 8, one of the commissioners to collect clothing for the army; and December 16, appointed by the Assembly to take subscriptions for the Continental Loan. He acted as one of the commissioners which met at New Haven, Conn., November 22, 1777, to regulate the prices of commodities in the States. After four years of excessive and exhaustive labor, Colonel Galbraith was compelled to resign the office of county lieutenant, but remained in service as an officer of the militia until the restoration of peace. In 1789 he was appointed one of the commissioners to view the Juniata and Susquehanna, and mark the places where locks or canals were necessary to render these streams navigable. He was appointed deputy surveyor November 4, 1791, and while acting as such took up large tracts in Lykens Valley, but dying before patents were issued to him, his heirs lost them all in the numberless litigations which ensued. While on a visit to his brother Andrew Galbraith, in Cumberland County, who was seriously ill at the time, Colonel Galbraith suddenly died March 9, 1804. He was buried in Donegal churchyard. Colonel Galbraith married Ann, daughter of Josiah Scott of Donegal. She died June 29, 1793, aged 51 years, leaving a large family.

Gray, Neigal, of Northampton County, was one of the earliest residents of the "Irish Settlement," so called, in Allen Township, that county. He located where Howertown, Northampton County, now stands. He was a member of the Provincial Conference of June 18, 1776, and of the Convention of 15th July following. He was colonel of one of the Northampton County battalions of associators; subsequently entered the Pennsylvania Line, and rose to be lieutenant-colonel of the 12th Regiment. After the Revolution, he removed to Buffalo Valley and died there in the year 1786.

Grier, John, of Bucks County, the eldest son of Nathan and Agnes Grier, early immigrants from Ireland, who settled in Plumstead, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, was born in the year 1744. Brought up as a farmer, he nevertheless received a good classical education. Two of his brothers, James and Nathan, became able and prominent Presbyterian ministers, and Mr. Grier was for many years a trustee of Old Neshaminy Church. With the exception of being a member of the Convention of July 15, 1776, he never would accept a public office. During the War of the Revolution he was an active Whig, assisting in the organization of the associators and other troops. He died on the 11th of June, 1814, and was buried in Neshaminy Church graveyard. Mr. Grier married Jane daughter of Captain John Hays of the "Irish Settlement," by whom he had ten children, among whom were the Reverend Matthew B. Grier, D.D., of Philadelphia, and Reverend John Hays Grier of Jersey Shore.

THE DESCENDANTS OF JÖRAN KYN, THE FOUNDER OF UPLAND.

BY GREGORY B. KEEN.

(Continued from page 223.)

SANDELANDS—MADDOCK—SMITH—KEEN—STIDHAM—BREINTNALL.

16. JONAS SANDELANDS,[3] son of James and Ann (Keen) Sandelands, was born at Upland, and resided there until his death. He was a cooper, and is described in deeds as "gentleman." He was appointed Coroner for Chester County, Pa., in October, 1717, an office which he held till 1721. He was a Vestryman and Warden of St. Paul's Church, Chester. He married Mary, daughter of Israel Taylor, Sheriff of Bucks County, Pa., in 1693, and at the time of his death a resident of Tinicum Island, practising the art of surgery.* Mrs.

* Son of Christopher Taylor, "supposed," says Dr. George Smith in his biographical notice of this exceptionally learned colonist, "to have been born near Skipton, in Yorkshire, England," in which country he "officiated as a Puritan preacher, until, in 1652, he was convinced of the truth of Quaker doctrine by George Fox. He became eminent as a minister among Friends, and was imprisoned several times" on account of his faith. He also taught "a classical school" in various places, and, finally, "at Edmonton, in Middlesex," where "he was succeeded by the noted George Keith." He left this spot to emigrate to Pennsylvania in 1682, obtaining a grant of five thousand acres of land from the Proprietor, and settled first in Bristol, in Bucks County, which he represented in the First Assembly of the Province. He was likewise a member of the first Provincial Council after the arrival of William Penn, and retained his seat at the council-board until his death, in July, 1686. He also occupied the office of Register-General of the Province, and was one of the Commissioners appointed by Penn, in 1683, to treat with the Government of West New Jersey. "In July, 1684, he appears as one of the Justices of Chester Court, when he had, probably, established himself on Tinicum Island, which was conveyed to him shortly afterwards," and in granting which to his son Israel he speaks of himself as a schoolmaster, and of his place of residence as "Tinicum, *alias* College Island." "He was well acquainted," says Dr. Smith, "with Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and in 1679 published his *Compendium Trium Linguarum*

Sandelands survived her husband, and married, secondly (about 1731), Arthur Shield, by whom she had a daughter, baptized at St. Paul's Church, Chester, August 29, 1732. Mr. Sandelands had eight children, born in Chester, Pa.:

54. James, "eldest son and heir," described as "gentleman." He inherited the ancestral taste for military life, and obtained a commission, in 1740, as Second Lieutenant in one of the seven Companies of Infantry enlisted in the Province of Pennsylvania to join Admiral Vernon's splendidly-appointed expedition against the Spanish territories in the West Indies. He engaged the following spring in General Wentworth's ill-conducted attack on Carthagena, and re-embarked, with the rest of the army, for Jamaica and Cuba, where he, no doubt, stayed until the spring of 1742, and the unfortunate enterprise against Panama. "In September," says Dr. Smollett, "Vernon and Wentworth received orders to return to England with such troops as remained alive; and these did not amount to a tenth part of the number which had been sent abroad in that inglorious service. The inferior officers fell ignobly by sickness and despair, without an opportunity of signalizing their courage, and the commanders lived to feel the scorn and reproach of their country." Mr. Sandelands was one of the survivors of these disasters, but d. not long afterwards, probably unm., letters of administration on his estate being granted to his younger brother, David, June 8, 1744.
55. Anne, m., 1st, Richard McGee; 2dly, Richard Venables.
56. Mary, m. James Claxton.
57. David obtained, through the will of his uncle, Christopher Taylor, of Tinicum, part of that island, as well as the latter gentleman's share of "Long Hooks Island," and title to lands in Chester, Pa., with "fishing place, and the help and use of" certain negro slaves, together with some personal property; but d. within four months afterwards, unm., letters of administration on his estate being granted to his sisters, Rebecca and Mary, with their husbands, April 6, 1749.
58. Sarah, m. Oliver Thomas.
59. Rebecca m., 1st (Trinity Church Register, Christina, now Wilmington, Delaware), February 8, 1738,* Henry Maddock, son of Mor-

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of those languages" Robert Proud, in a short account of him in his *History of Pennsylvania*, vol. i. p. 235, speaks of him as "one of the first and principal settlers in the Province under William Penn." Israel Taylor's mother, Frances Taylor, "died in the Tenth month, 1685." (*The Friend*, vol. xxvii. p. 124.)

* Here, as well as elsewhere in entries in the books of the Swedish Lutheran Churches on the Delaware, the year is reckoned as beginning with

decai Maddock, of Springfield Township, Chester Co., Pa., oldest son of Henry Maddock, of Loom Hall, Cheshire, England.* Mr. Maddock was a member of the Society of Friends, and, on being complained of at Chester Monthly Meeting, "12th mo. 28, 1737–8," for thus marrying a person not a member, made his acknowledgment, which was accepted "3d mo. 29, 1738." He d. not long after, letters of administration on his estate being granted August 16, 1738. Mrs. Maddock m., 2dly., William Smith, described in April, 1749, as "of the City of Philadelphia, tanner," appointed guardian for his wife's niece, Elizabeth Venables, in 1757, and still living in Philadelphia in 1758. Mrs. Smith received her portion of her brother David Sandelands's estate in October, 1752, but is not heard of afterwards.

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the first day of January, differing from the records of Friends, and other English Protestant sects, including the Establishment, as well as from the civil usage, all of these computing from Lady Day.

* Henry Maddock, of Loom Hall, with his brother-in-law, James Kenerly, purchased fifteen hundred acres of land in Pennsylvania in 1681, and emigrated to America the following year, some time before the Proprietary. He represented Chester County in the General Assembly of the Province in 1684, but afterwards returned to England. Part of the grant referred to, comprising eleven hundred acres situated in Springfield Township, adjoining Ridley, in Chester County (indicated on a Map of the Early Settlements in Dr. Smith's *History of Delaware County*), came into the possession of Henry Maddock's son Mordecai. The latter was in this country in 1687, and was one of the trustees for the property conveyed by Jöran Kyn for the use of Chester Friends' Meeting, already referred to, and at a Monthly Meeting held "8th mo. 13, 1690," was appointed, with his brother-in-law, George Maris, Jr., to solicit or receive subscriptions in Springfield Township towards building a meeting house in Chester. He recrossed the ocean, and on his second arrival here, March 30, 1702, produced a certificate from Newton Meeting, in Cheshire, dated "9th mo. 7, 1701." April 5, 1703, he received a certificate to return to England, at which time he does not appear to have had a wife. Once more, however, he came back to this country, bringing with him his wife, Sarah Maddock, followed by a certificate from Friends of Nottingham Monthly Meeting, in England, dated "1st mo. 2, 1726–7." Mrs. Maddock died soon after, and Mordecai Maddock married, at Springfield Meeting, November 8, 1733, Dorothy, widow of Philip Roman, of Chichester, with witnesses Henry, John, Benjamin, James, and Elizabeth Maddock, probably his children. In 1736, as the only surviving trustee of the Meeting property acquired from Jöran Kyn, he signed a deed conveying the same to Edward Russell, the Meeting being removed to another site. After that year nothing more is heard of him. (Facts for most of which I am indebted to the civility of Mr. Gilbert Cope, of West Chester.)

60. Eleanor m. (by license granted September, 1744) George Pooley, described December, 1755, "of Philadelphia, cordwainer," his wife, also, still being alive.

61. Margaret d. unm., and was buried in Christ Churchyard, Philadelphia, October 30, 1746.

21. John Keen,[4] "eldest son and heir-at-law" of Matthias and Henricka (Claassen) Keen, was born in Oxford Township, Philadelphia Co., Pa., in 1695, and inherited from his father an estate of about four hundred acres of land in Oxford and Lower Dublin Townships (the situation of which has been described in the account of Matthias Keen), and from his mother a lesser tract lying in Bristol Township, Bucks Co., Pa. He resided on the former, at first, in a house built for him on the southwest side of the Township Line Road, between the so-called State Road and Keen's Road (leading to Holmesburg),* afterwards, however, and at his death, in a dwelling between the State Road and the river. He married in November, 1713, Susannah, eldest daughter, and second child, of James Steelman, of Great Egg Harbor, Gloucester Co., New Jersey, "Gentleman," by his first wife, Susannah, daughter of Christina Toy.† Her father is mentioned in Springer's list of Swedes who resided on the Delaware in May, 1693, and among the members of the Swedish Lutheran Congregation of Wicacoa during the pastorate of the Rev. Mr. Rudman. He owned the ground now occupied by Atlantic City,‡ and in his will, dated August 2, 1734, preserved

* This house, rebuilt, altered, and enlarged, at sundry times, still stands, surrounded by noble trees and beautiful grounds. It has been the home of five generations of the family.

† Mrs. Steelman's father was, probably, a native of Sweden. His baptismal name is not known. Her brother, Elias Tay, or Toy, was born in October, 1664, and m., February, 1690, Gertrude, daughter of Jonas Nilsson, of the Swedish Colony. He was one of the contributors to the salary of the Rev. Jacobus Fabritius in 1684, and is mentioned in Springer's list of Swedes who resided on the Delaware in 1693, was living in Senamensing, New Jersey, in 1697, and bought land in Newton Township, Gloucester County, N. J., in 1700. Mr. Steelman's last wife was Katharine Ouster, of Gloucester County, N. J., "spinster," the marriage bond being dated June 13, 1730.

‡ Bestowed during his lifetime on his son Andrew, who devised it to his children under the name of "Absecond Beach."

in the office of the Secretary of State at Trenton, bequeaths "slaves & servants, lands, cedar swamps & Beaches, houses, Barnes, mills, and orchards," situated in the present Atlantic County, N. J. To his "daughter Susannah" he leaves a token of remembrance, with the explanation, "the reason that I give her no more is because I have given her many valuable things already." Like his father, Matthias Keen, John Keen signed a petition to the General Assembly of the Province, relating to encroachments on lands held by the Swedes before the advent of the Quaker Proprietor. "Penn's Commissioners," says Acrelius,* "continued to question the Swedish titles through the Duke of York, to clip off pieces from their lands, to put on higher rents, and to withhold their old deeds. On this account many others took part in this matter. The first English inhabitants, together with those who had bought Swedish titles, all united in the complaints. They presented a petition to the Assembly in the year 1722, in which the chief charge was, that the Proprietor, by his Commissioners, and especially within the last five years, had interfered with the Swedes' lands, as, also, with the lands of those who had the same titles, or were the oldest English inhabitants in the country and had their rights to the land not only from the English authorities before Penn's time, but these, also, afterwards, still further confirmed by the fundamental laws of the country, namely, that seven years' undisputed possession of property should become a good title." The Assembly granted the petition, and a bill was introduced, styled "An Act for the further Confirmation of Rights to Lands, and for avoiding of Law-suits concerning the same." Their proceedings were communicated to Sir William Keith, the then Governor, who on addressing himself for information to Richard Hill, Isaac Norris, and James Logan, at that time Proprietary Agents for the Province, received from them a self-exculpatory "Report" with regard to the subject, which he, in turn, presented to the Assembly, accompanied by a written Message. "After some time spent in the debate of

* *History of New Sweden*, p. 128.

the bill" it was finally rejected.* "From thenceforth," affirms Acrelius, "no more was heard of the matter." Mr. Keen was a member and warden of Gloria Dei Church at Wicacoa, and is mentioned in the parish records as one of the principal contributors to the rebuilding of the minister's house at Passyunk, destroyed by fire in 1717,† as well as to the repairing of the church edifice in 1738–9. He apportioned his land among his sons during his life, and bequeathed it to them and their sons at his death, describing the several boundaries with precision in a will dated January 21, 1758. His wife died in Oxford Township, November 9, 1753, and was buried on the 11th in Gloria Dei Churchyard. Mr. Keen died on his estate February 22, 1758, and was buried the 25th in the same Swedish Lutheran Cemetery. They had eleven children, all born in Oxford Township:

62. James, m. Mercy Ashton.
63. Mary, m. Toby Leech.
64. Susannah, m., 1st, John Martin; 2dly, Edward Milner.
65. Rebecca, probably d. young.
66. Matthias, b. December 21, 1721; m., 1st, Mary Swift; 2dly, Margaret Thomas.
67. John, b. May 22, 1723; m. Esther Foster.
68. Elias, b. May 15, 1725; m. Hannah Thomas.
69. Rebecca, m., 1st, Benjamin Engle; 2dly, Jacob Hall.
70. Peter d. in Oxford Township, unm., November 11, 1757, and was bur. the 13th in Gloria Dei Churchyard.
71. Jacob, m. Hannah Holme.
72. George, m. Margaret Bristol.

23. Jonas Keen,[4] son of Matthias and Henricka (Claassen) Keen, was born in Oxford Township, Philadelphia Co., Pa., September 16, 1698. He was married by the Swedish Lutheran pastor of Raccoon Church, New Jersey, the Rev.

* On these points see *Votes of Assembly*, January 11, 18, and 19, and March 7, 1721–2. The Report of the Proprietary Agents is printed in *Pennsylvania Archives*, vol. i. pp. 172–7.

† A representation of the new parsonage (already twice referred to in preceding articles) is given in Mr. Thompson Westcott's *History of Philadelphia*, chap. lxxii.

Abraham Lidenius, October 20, 1718, to Sarah Dahlbo,* and, no doubt, immediately, but, at least, as early as June, 1719, occupied the portion of his father's estate in Oxford Township exhibited on Holme's Map as belonging to "Ha Salter," southwest of the Township Line Road, and traversed by the Bristol Turnpike. From thence he removed, by the summer of 1721, to Pilesgrove Township, Salem Co., New Jersey.† He had, at least, eight children, all born in Salem County, N. J.:

73. Sarah, b. January 26, 1722; m., 1st, John Stille; 2dly, Samuel Austin.

74. Catharine, b. March 9, 1724; m. (Trinity Church Register, Christina), November 11, 1740, Anders Steddom, also written Stedham and Stidham.‡

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* Doubtless, the daughter or granddaughter, by his wife Catharine, of Olof Dahlbo, of Senamensing, New Jersey, one of the Proprietors of West New Jersey, and a Representative of the Fourth Tenth in the General Assembly of that Province in 1685–6, a Surveyor of the Highway from Salem to Burlington, and one of the four original Wardens of Raccoon Swedish Lutheran Church, referred to in former foot-notes, a descendant of Anders Larsson Daalbo, of Sweden, who emigrated with Minuit or Hollender, was settled on a tobacco plantation on the Schuylkill in 1644, and in 1648 held the post of Provost, and in 1658 that of Lieutenant, of the Swedes upon the Delaware. Her kinswoman, Maria Dahlbo, became the wife of the Rev. Provost Andreas Sandel, Pastor of Gloria Dei Church from 1702 to 1719, and returned to Sweden with her husband and two children, Magdalena and Peter, by the latter of whom, Acrelius says, "an honourable Minister's household was afterwards formed in the town of Hedemora." Charles Dahlbo, of Penn's Neck, Salem Co., N. J., another member of the family, b. April 6, 1723, m. (Raccoon Swedish Church Register), August 12, 1756, Rachel, daughter of Jonas Keen, of Gloucester County, b. September 14, 1736, by whom he had eight children, some of whom left posterity. He was "a very worthy Vestryman" of the Church, says the Rev. John Wicksell, and d. October 10, 1773.

† Letters of administration on the estate of "Jonas Keen, of Penn's Neck," Co. Salem, N. J., probably the same person, were granted to Andrew Dahlbo, January 2, 1748.

‡ A descendant, and, probably, a great-grandson, of Dr. Timon Stiddem, who was born, according to the statement of his will, "at Hammell," and came with one of the later Swedish expeditions to the Delaware, most likely that of Governor Rising, which sailed from Gottenburg February 2, 1654, and reached Fort Casimir, on our river, the 21st of the following May. On

75. Christina, b. October 11, 1726; still living January 2, 1747–8, when she attests her brother-in-law, John Stille's will.
76. Mary, b. September 29, 1728; m., 1st, Jonathan Crathorne; 2dly, Thomas Roker.
77. Matthias, b. November 15, 1731.
78. Rebecca, b. March 4, 1734; m. (Raccoon Swedish Lutheran Church Register), December 19, 1754, Michael Richman, whom she survived, receiving letters of administration on his estate June 16, 1773.

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the subversion of the Swedish rule by Peter Stuyvesant in September, 1655, Mr. Stiddem, with others of his fellow-countrymen, took the oath of allegiance to the Dutch authorities. He appears to have learned the arts of medicine and surgery in Europe, for as early as January, 1656, he is ordered to "give an affidavit of the cure" of some soldiers on "South River;" and in a letter written in 1662 by Vice-Director Beeckman to Governor Stuyvesant "an old man" is mentioned as having been murdered by Indians, and examined by "Timen Stidden, the surgeon." In another letter from the same to the same, dated "Altena, the 1st of Feb., 1663," occurs the following curious statement: "D'Hinojossa considers us still his mortal enemies, for, when, on the 18th of December, Mr. Jacop, the City's surgeon, stated in the meeting that he desired to put in his place Mr. Timen Stidden, after he had before obtained permission to put somebody in his place, d'Hinojossa nevertheless said to him: 'Why do you present to us a man who is Beeckman's friend, whom I consider our enemy, yes, our mortal enemy?'" The City referred to is, of course, the City of Amsterdam, which owned New Amstel, and the territory down the Delaware to Bombay Hook, where d'Hinojossa was Vice-Director. Doctor Stiddem resided for some time at Upland, and at the trial of Evert Hendrickson for his assault on Jöran Kyn, spoken of in the account of the latter, he was one of the chief witnesses against the Fin, relating unpleasant experiences of the man, and declaring, that "he had neither security nor peace, but was obliged to leave Upland's kil," because of the ruffian. He settled, permanently, at Christina, where he purchased large tracts of land, the possession of which was subsequently confirmed to him by Gov. Francis Lovelace in a patent, dated May 23, 1671, printed in Benjamin Ferris's *History of the Original Settlements on the Delaware.* On these is built a great part of the city of Wilmington. Dr. Stiddem's will was signed February 1, and admitted to probate April 24, 1686. The Doctor was married twice (his second wife being "Christina Oels's daughter"), and had several children, with numerous descendants, residing, for the most part, in Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. One of his posterity still preserves the metal case, in which he carried his surgical instruments on visits to his patients of the early Swedish Colony, interestingly authenticated by bearing his name and title engraved upon it.

79. Susannah, b. June 13, 1736; m. (*ibid.*), February 12, 1755, Hugh Davis.

80. William, b. January 27, 1739; m. Dorothy Gaylor.

25. Hans Keen,[4] son of Erick and Catharine (Claassen) Keen, was born in Oxford Township, Philadelphia Co., Pa.,* and married Mary, youngest daughter of Nils Laican, and sister to Elizabeth, second wife of his father's cousin-german, Maons Keen. He inherited through her a fifth part of "Poor Island," already spoken of, and in 1727, in conjunction with his younger brother, Peter Keen, purchased two additional fifths of the same land, and resided (probably upon that farm) in Shackamaxon, in the Northern Liberties, until his death. Letters of administration on his estate were granted to his father November 24, 1737. He had two children:

81. Rebecca, m. (Gloria Dei Church Register), November 1, 1753, George Breintnall, styled, September 18, 1755, "of the City of Philadelphia, printer."

82. William, m. Anne Shillingsforth.

26. Peter Keen,[4] son of Erick and Catharine (Claassen) Keen, was born in Oxford Township, Philadelphia Co., Pa., February 26, 1703, but removed by 1727 to the city of Philadelphia, where he resided, at least, until the close of 1733. In November of the latter year he purchased four acres of land in Wicacoa, Philadelphia Co., and lived there in November, 1735, when he added to this lot four acres of ground adjoining it. In 1747 he again dwelt in the city, where he remained, at least, until September, 1755. During that month he bought the only interest in "Poor Island" (before referred to) not already held by him, and between this date and 1758 removed to that plantation, which comprised about three hundred acres of land, situated in Kensington, Philadelphia Co., a mile and a half from the river Delaware, on the north side of Tumanaramaming, or Gunners Run, above the mouth of a small branch which formed its eastern boundary.† On

* Possibly, the "little son of Erick Keen," whose baptism is recorded in Gloria Dei Church Account-Book for 1699.

† Extending a mile and a quarter up the former, and three-quarters of a mile along the latter to its source, the northwestern limit of the estate being

this fine country-seat Mr. Keen was pleased to spend the last ten years of his life. He was, by occupation, a merchant, though frequently described in deeds as "gentleman." He prospered in his enterprises, owned numerous slaves, and acquired several houses and lots of ground on High (now Market), Arch, Race, and Fifth streets, in Philadelphia, besides some tracts in neighboring townships. In 1753 he purchased the land on Wissinoming Creek bequeathed by his father to his step-brothers, Daniel and Jonas Keen (conveyed by him December 30, 1758, to Lynford Lardner, Esq., of Philadelphia). His name appears in the list of contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital in 1754 for the sum of £10. He was a member of the Swedish Lutheran Church of Wicacoa, and was chosen by that congregation, October 24, 1750, one of twelve "Second Trustees" so called. He was married, at least, twice, but the surnames of his wives have not come down to us. His first wife, Margaret, died July 25, 1732, and was buried in Gloria Dei Churchyard. His last wife, Ann, is mentioned as a member of Wicacoa congregation in 1752, and was still living November 22, 1754, when, with her husband, she signed a deed of sale of property in the township of Lower Dublin. Mr. Keen died October 12, 1765, and was buried in Gloria Dei Churchyard.* He left three children, the two elder by his first wife:

83. Benjamin was b. in Philadelphia in 1726–7, and was a member of the Swedish Lutheran Congregation of Wicacoa in 1752. He inherited his father's plantation in Kensington, but d. s. p. soon after, August 16, 1767, and was bur. in Gloria Dei Churchyard.
84. Mary, b. about 1730; m. Joseph Stout.
85. Reynold, b. 1737–8; m., 1st, Christiana Stille; 2dly, Patience (Barclay) Worrell; 3dly, Anne Lawrence.

28. Matthias Keen,[4] son of Erick and Catharine (Claassen) Keen, was born in Oxford Township, Philadelphia Co., Pa.

a right line from stream to stream three-quarters of a mile in length. The site is indicated on Hills's *Map of the City of Philadelphia and Environs*, published in 1808.

* The graves of Peter and Margaret Keen and children are indicated by horizontal tombstones of unusual size, which are yet in excellent condition.

His father bequeathed to him three acres of land and meadow in Chester Township, Burlington Co., New Jersey, purchased from Maons Keen, which he sold June 13, 1747, when he resided in Lower Dublin Township, Philadelphia Co. He married Sarah, daughter of Joseph and Sarah Harper, of Oxford Township,* born June 12, 1717, and baptized the following August at Trinity Church, Oxford, Philadelphia Co., through whom he acquired land in Oxford Township. They had six children, all baptized at Trinity Church:

86. Matthias, b. June, 1742.
87. John, b. June, 1745.
88. Joseph, b. October, 1747.
89. Jonas, b. January, 1750.
90. Robert, b. May, 1752.
91. Josiah, b. February, 1754.

30. Daniel Keen,[4] son of Erick and Brigitta Keen, was born in Oxford Township, Philadelphia Co., Pa., in 1722–3, but removed to the city of Philadelphia, where he resided, at least, from 1746 to 1753, pursuing the trade of a carpenter. He married (Trinity Church Register, Oxford), January 6, 1752, Elizabeth McCarty, by whom he had three children, the two elder baptized at Trinity Church:

92. Andrew, b. September, 1752.
93. Mary, b. March, 1754.
94. John, bur. in Gloria Dei Churchyard, Wicacoa, December 11, 1816, "aged about sixty years."

* And granddaughter of persons buried in Trinity Churchyard, Oxford, whose tombstones bear the following inscriptions: "John, son of John Harper, of Noke in Oxford Shire in Old England, and arrived in Pensilvania the 2d of August, 1682, who died y^e^ 29th of April, 1716, aged 83 years." "Ann Harper, widow of John Harper, daughter of Charles Butcher, of King Sutten in North Hampton Shire in Old England, who died y^e^ 4th of March, 1723–4, aged 77 years."

(To be continued.)

(To be continued)

RECORDS OF CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

BURIALS, 1709–1760.

CONTRIBUTED BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

(Continued from page 229.)

Sept.	9, 1736.	Garigues,	Mary, dau. of Peter.
April	20, 1741.	Garragues,	Rebecca, dau. of Francis.
June	5, 1744.	"	Hannah, dau. of Peter.
Oct.	29, 1733.	Garrat,	Francis. From ye State-house.
June	10, 1749.	"	William.
April	24, 1747.	Garraway,	Anne, dau. of Benjamin.
June	20, 1740.	Garrett,	Elizabeth, dau. of Valentine.
May	31, 1742.	Garrigues,	Rebecca, dau. of Francis.
Jan.	24, 1744–5.	"	Sarah, dau. of Peter.
May	19, 1745.	"	Anne, wife of Francis.
July	6, 1746.	"	Peter.
Oct.	1, 1746.	"	Susannah. Widow.
Feb.	11, 1746–7.	"	Peter.
Oct.	5, 1747.	"	Mary, dau. of Francis.
Oct.	25, 1747.	"	Anne, dau. of Francis.
Sept.	12, 1757.	"	——— wife of Francis.
Dec.	5, 1759.	"	Grandchild of Francis.
Mar.	17, 1759.	Garrison,	Adam.
July	24, 1746.	Garvey,	Hester, dau. of James.
Sept.	6, 1746.	"	John, son of James.
July	19, 1727.	Gative,	Nicholas, son of Nicholas.
Aug.	15, 1713.	Gattow,	Frances, wife of Nicholas.
Dec.	10, 1732.	Gaufe,	Nurse. P.
July	18, 1747.	Gault,	John.
Feb.	16, 1720–1.	Gaultry,	Mary, wife of Oliver.
Jan.	19, 1742–3.	Gaven,	Joseph, son of Joseph.
July	7, 1747.	Gavin,	Elizabeth, dau. of Joseph.
Sept.	26, 1712.	Geaddy,	Mary, wife of George.
Feb.	5, 1743–4.	Geary,	Ann, dau. of John. Poor.
May	28, 1729.	Geddings,	John. Barbadoes.
Mar.	3, 1726–7.	George,	Thomas.
Oct.	8, 1734.	"	John. Poor.
July	9, 1735.	"	Mary.
May	21, 1737.	"	John, son of Abram.
Feb.	29, 1743–4.	"	Mary, dau. of Abraham.

Sept. 1, 1744.	George,	Ann, wife of Abraham.
June 18, 1748.	"	Abraham.
Oct. 1, 1759.	"	Felim.
Dec. 19, 1737.	Georges,	John. [and Elizabeth.
Sept. 1, 1726.	Geslin,	Elizabeth, dau. of Nicholas
Dec. 13, 1726.	Getchel,	Sarah.
May 18, 1727.	Getchell,	Catharine. Quakers' Ground.
Mar. 10, 1759.	Ghiselin,	——— dau. of William.
Feb. 13, 1733–4.	Ghisling,	Cæsar.
Feb. 25, 1753.	Ghuiselin,	Mary, wife of Cæsar.
July 2, 1754.	Gibbons,	Mary, dau. of James.
Sept. 17, 1731.	Gibbs,	John, son of John.
April 25, 1735.	"	John.
Aug. 7, 1747.	"	Dorothy. [Rebecca.
Aug. 17, 1710.	Gibson,	Rebecca, dau. of Thomas and
July 26, 1712.	"	Mary, dau. of Thomas and Rebecca.
Sept. 16, 1716.	"	Thomas, son of Thomas and Rebecca.
Aug. 12, 1725.	"	Thomas, son of Thomas and Rebecca.
Sept. 10, 1728.	"	Matthew.
Dec. 7, 1728.	"	Richard, son of Thomas.
April 7, 1731.	"	Rebecca, dau. of Thomas.
Jan. 4, 1735–6.	"	Elizabeth, wife of Thomas. Pr.
June 11, 1736.	"	Thomas.
Nov. 22, 1744.	"	Doctor John.
Dec. 26, 1751.	"	Joseph, son of Matthew.
Jan. 22, 1754.	"	Thomas, son of Matthew.
July 17, 1755.	"	——— son of Martha.
Nov. 3, 1758.	"	——— dau. of John.
Aug. 27, 1759.	Giggins,	Robert, son of James.
Nov. 10, 1730.	Gilbert,	Margaret.
April 28, 1740.	"	Amy, wife of Samuel.
Dec. 20, 1740.	"	John.
Oct. 15, 1756.	"	——— son of Thomas.
April 6, 1758.	"	Ann.
Oct. 31, 1758.	"	——— dau. of Thomas.
Mar. 23, 1734–5.	Gilham,	Edward, son of Edward.
July 20, 1752.	Gill,	Mary, dau. of John.
Mar. 13, 1753.	"	Joseph, son of John.
Aug. 7, 1757.	"	——— son of John.
Dec. 21, 1759.	"	William, son of John.
July 8, 1709.	Gilliard,	Christopher.
Oct. 6, 1758.	"	William.
Jan. 13, 1744–5.	Gillingham,	Nicholas.

July 9, 1741.	Gillum,	William.
Dec. 11, 1754.	Gilson,	Mary, wife of Matthew.
Oct. 30, 1711.	Ginkins,	Thomas, son of Thomas and Ann.
July 8, 1711.	Gisling,	Elizabeth, dau. of Cæsar and Catharine.
Mar. 20, 1734–5.	Glass,	Caroline, dau. of Alexander.
Aug. 25, 1721.	Glentworth,	Lydia, dau. of Thomas and Mary. [Mary.
April 6, 1726.	"	Mary, dau. of Thomas and
Mar. 26, 1730–1.	"	Samuel, son of Thomas.
April 28, 1731.	"	Anne, dau. of Thomas.
June 6, 1733.	"	Benjamin, son of Thomas.
Dec. 19, 1736.	"	William, son of Thomas.
Aug. 12, 1738.	"	Martha, dau. of Thomas.
Sept. 9, 1711.	Glover,	Edward, son of Edward and Martha.
June 12, 1714.	"	Martha, wife of Edward.
Aug. 18, 1730.	Goad,	Solomon, son of Solomon.
Mar. 4, 1730–1.	"	Anne, dau. of Solomon.
Sept. 18, 1757.	"	Solomon.
Jan. 27, 1742–3.	Godfrey,	Ann. Widow.
April 6, 1746.	"	Sarah, dau. of Thomas.
June 8, 1746.	"	Benjamin.
Dec. 12, 1749.	"	Thomas.
Mar. 22, 1752.	"	Anne.
July 27, 1753.	"	Cæsar.
July 17, 1757.	"	Joseph.
Dec. 17, 1759.	"	Edward.
Feb. 7, 1739–40.	Godsden,	Philip.
Mar. 9, 1747–8.	Goen,	Mary.
Oct. 7, 1747.	Gold,	Richard.
Oct. 1, 1727.	Goldsmith,	James.
Mar. 12, 1749–50.	"	James, son of John.
Sept. 21, 1746.	Gollerthurn,	William. [Mary.
Oct. 29, 1710.	Goobe,	Flecher, son of Flecher and
Dec. 9, 1709.	Goobson,	Michael.
Sept. 27, 1730.	Good,	Elizabeth, dau. of John.
June 2, 1734.	"	Hatton, son of John.
Aug. 15, 1742.	Goodgon,	Samuel, son of Robert.
May 16, 1753.	Goodman,	James.
Dec. 5, 1754.	"	Martha, wife of Walter.
Mar. 5, 1712–13.	Goodwin,	Elizabeth, wife of James.
April 9, 1729.	"	William. [Ground.
April 1, 1736.	"	Mary, dau. of Henry. Coates'
Jan. 16, 1746–7.	"	Joseph.

June 30, 1731.	Goold,	Nicholas.
Mar. 4, 1728–9.	Gordman,	William. [ander.
May 26, 1714.	Gordon,	Dorothy, wife of Capt. Alex-
May 31, 1714.	"	Alexander, son of Dorothy.
May 7, 1722.	"	Alexander.
May 5, 1733.	"	Alexander, son of Thomas.
Sept. 14, 1734.	"	Isabella. Lady of Governor.
Aug. 6, 1736.	"	Governor Patrick.
June 6, 1740.	"	Thomas, son of Thomas.
July 4, 1742.	"	Rebecca, dau. of Thomas.
April 10, 1743.	"	Rebecca, dau. of Thomas.
Feb. 25, 1749–50.	"	Mary, wife of Thomas.
Aug. 9, 1759.	"	William.
Nov. 2, 1759.	"	Mary.
Sept. 6, 1726.	Gorrigue,	Matthew.
Aug. 31, 1741.	Gosling,	Mary, dau. of Thomas.
Dec. 11, 1718.	Gough,	Capt. William.
Jan. 18, 1748–9.	Goujeon,	Robert.
Oct. 17, 1747.	Goujon,	Mary, wife of Jeremiah.
Dec. 17, 1756.	"	Jeremiah.
July 30, 1710.	Goulf,	Mary.
Nov. 29, 1759.	Goveyn,	Mary.
Dec. 7, 1744.	Govin,	John.
Aug. 30, 1721.	Grace,	Mary.
Mar. 12, 1730–1.	Graeme,	Rachel, dau. of Thomas.
Sept. 24, 1733.	"	William, son of Thomas.
Nov. 27, 1737.	"	William.
Sept. 7, 1747.	"	Thomas, son of Doctor Thomas.
Dec. 28, 1727.	Grahaeme,	Rachel, dau. of Mr. Thomas.
Oct. 10, 1728.	Graham,	Alexander. Barbadoes.
June 12, 1731.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Thomas.
Nov. 1, 1731.	"	Dr. Hugh.
Jan. 12, 1758.	Grainger,	William.
May 29, 1731.	Grame,	Patrick, son of Thomas.
Nov. 25, 1736.	Grant,	——— dau. of Charles.
Oct. 2, 1740.	"	Jane, dau. of James.
Jan. 17, 1741–2.	"	Elizabeth, wife of James.
Nov. 23, 1712.	Grasbury,	Ann.
Nov. 25, 1756.	Grassbury,	——— dau. of Joseph.
Dec. 13, 1756.	"	——— dau. of Joseph.
May 17, 1759.	Grassholt,	Christian.
Jan. 21, 1727–8.	Gratto.	Mary.
Dec. 31, 1734.	Gray,	Mary Ann, dau. of Benjamin.
Dec. 9, 1739.	"	Judith, wife of Henry. Poor.
June 19, 1746.	"	Benjamin.
Aug. 5, 1746.	"	Penelope. Widow.

Oct. 6, 1746.	Gray,	Mary, dau. of Henry.
Oct. 2, 1751.	"	Mary, wife of Henry.
Feb. 2, 1741–2.	Graydon,	Alexander, son of Alexander.
July 3, 1746.	"	Charles, natural son of Alexander.
July 27, 1746.	"	Pamela, natural dau. of Alexander.
Aug. 30, 1709.	Green,	Ann, dau. of John and Ann.
Sept. 10, 1709.	"	Edward.
Aug. 14, 1711.	"	Robert.
Sept. 19, 1711.	"	John.
Mar. 17, 1713–14.	"	Thomas.
May 6, 1718.	"	Giles.
June 15, 1731.	"	Giles.
Sept. 8, 1739.	"	Elizabeth, wife of John. Poor.
Oct. 18, 1746.	"	Fisher, son of Thomas.
Dec. 8, 1747.	"	George, son of Daniel.
Feb. 28, 1748–9.	"	Pyramus.
Aug. 5, 1749.	"	Thomas, son of ye widow.
April 2, 1750.	"	Pyramus, son of Pyramus.
Sept. 21, 1751.	"	Susannah, wife of James.
Mar. 19, 1753.	"	Godfrey Buckley.
Mar. 23, 1753.	"	Thomas.
Mar. 4, 1755.	"	George.
Dec. 21, 1758.	"	John.
Mar. 17, 1757.	Greenal,	William.
Oct. 20, 1754.	Greenaway,	William, son of William.
May 28, 1743.	Greeneway,	Hannah, dau. of Robert.
Dec. 23, 1736.	Greenless,	Crispanus, son of Robert.
July 29, 1746.	Greenway,	Margret, dau. of Henry.
Aug. 17, 1747.	"	John, son of John.
Aug. 11, 1748.	"	Mary, dau. of William.
July 26, 1750.	"	Mary, dau. of William.
Sept. 16, 1756.	"	——— dau. of James.
Sept. 18, 1757.	"	Susannah.
April 26, 1759.	"	Prudence.
Aug. 11, 1759.	"	William, son of William.
April 2, 1759.	Greenwood,	Jacob.
Jan. 2, 1732–3.	Gregory,	John, son of Robert.
Aug. 29, 1739.	"	Elizabeth. From Legay's.
Sept. 17, 1741.	"	John.
Oct. 1, 1757.	"	John, son of Thomas.
Feb. 18, 1759.	"	——— dau. of Thomas.
Mar. 16, 1735–6.	Grew,	Rebecca, dau. of Theophilus.

(To be continued.)

Oct. 4 1710. Crisp, Silver, dau. of [illegible].
Dec. 2 1710. " [illegible]
Feb. 2 1710-11 Cowdrey, [illegible]
June 6 1711. " Charles, servant to [illegible]
Aug. 17 1711. " [illegible]
Aug. 25 1711. Crisp, [illegible]
Sept. 30 1711. " [illegible]
Apr. 14 1712. " [illegible]
Sept. 19 1712. " [illegible]
Nov. 17 1712. " [illegible]
May 6 1713. " [illegible]
July 16 1713. " [illegible]
Dec. 8 1713. " [illegible]
Feb. 20 1713-14 " [illegible]
Aug. 8 1714. " [illegible]
June 2 1715. " [illegible]
Oct. 18 1715. " [illegible]
Dec. 8 1715. " [illegible]
Feb. 20 1715-16 " [illegible]
Aug. 17 1716. Cromwell, [illegible]
Oct. 31 1716. Cromwell, [illegible]
Sept. 25 1716. Cromwell, [illegible]
Dec. 30 1716. Cromwell, [illegible]
July 22 1716. Cromwell, [illegible]
Aug. 17 1717. " [illegible]
Aug. 11 1718. " [illegible]
July 26 1719. " [illegible]
Sept. 16 1719. " [illegible]
Sept. 18 1720. " [illegible]
April 2 1720. " [illegible]
Aug. 11 1720. " [illegible]
April 2 1720. Cromwell, [illegible]
Dec. 2 1720-1. Cromwell, [illegible]
June 20 1721. " [illegible]
Sept. 11 1721. " [illegible]
Oct. 1 1721. " [illegible]
Feb. 12 1721-2. " [illegible]
Dec. 10 1722. Crisp, [illegible]

MARCH MEETING OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

A stated meeting of the Society was held on Monday evening, March 10, 1879, Samuel W. Pennypacker, Esq., in the absence of the President, in the chair.

The Secretary read an interesting, unpublished letter from Col. Henry Lee, Jr., "Light-Horse Harry Lee," dated October 4, 1780, giving a graphic account of the treason of Benedict Arnold, and his escape, and of the capture, trial, and execution of Major André.

Mr. Charles M. Morris read a sketch of Daniel Dulany, the distinguished Maryland lawyer of the last century, by the Hon. John H. B. Latrobe, of Baltimore.

A communication from the New Jersey Historical Society, dated January 30, 1879, was read by the Secretary, requesting the co-operation of this Society in an endeavor to interest the National Government in a proposed joint movement on the part of the Republics of the Western Continent in order to aid the people of San Domingo in erecting a worthy monument over the remains of Christopher Columbus.

Nominations for officers to be balloted for election, May 5th, were then made as follows:—

President.

John William Wallace.

Vice-Presidents.

Aubrey H. Smith. Craig Biddle.

Recording Secretary.

William Brooke Rawle.

Corresponding Secretary.

John W. Jordan.

Treasurer.

J. Edward Carpenter.

Council.

James C. Hand. Sam'l W. Pennypacker.
John Jordan, Jr. Chas. Riché Hildeburn.

Mr. Ward, on behalf of the artist, Mr. Isaac L. Williams, presented to the Society a painting of the Old Floating Bridge at Gray's Ferry.

Mr. Charles M. Morris, on behalf of Mr. Titian R. Peale, presented a coil of the first sub-marine cable across the Atlantic.

Mr. Ward announced the death of the following members of the Society since its last meeting: Judge John Cadwalader, Hon. Bayard Taylor, John B. Biddle, M.D., E. Spencer Miller, Esq.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

Centennial Celebrations of Sullivan's Victories over the Six Nations.—The celebrations at Elmira and Waterloo, N. Y., on the 29th of August and the 3d of September, respectively, were attended with great success. At the former, historical addresses were made by the Rev. David Craft, and Steuben Jenkins, Esq., which deserve to be preserved in a more lasting form than that in which they have reached us—the papers of the day.

One of the most valuable results of these celebrations is the study that they have directed to the subject they commemorate. Under the auspices of the Waterloo Historical Society several gentlemen have with great care traced the route of Sullivan's march in N. Y., and printed the results of their labors in the *Seneca County Courier* under the heading of "Tracing Indian History," a series well worthy of being printed in a volume. For the convenience of any one who may wish to study the documents of Sullivan's Expedition, we give a list of Journals kept by participants, prepared by one well acquainted with the subject.—Ed.

Journals of the Sullivan Expedition, 1779.—The following list comprises all I know at this date (May 9, 1879), of Journals kept by officers connected with this Expedition. Those of which I have copy, marked *.

*I. Lieut. (afterwards Colonel) John Jenkins—the original in the hands of his grandson, Hon. Steuben Jenkins, of Wyoming, Penna.

*II. George Grant—published in Wyoming Republican, Wilkesbarre, 1868. Hazard's Register, vol. xiv. pp. 72–76.

*III. Thomas Grant—published in Historical Magazine, Aug. and Sept. 1862.

*IV. Daniel Livermore—published New Hampshire Hist. Collections, vol. vi. pp. 308–335.

*V. Adam Hubley—published Appendix of Miner's Hist. of Wyoming.

*VI. James Norris—original in Buffalo Hist. Soc. My copy was made by myself from a certified copy now in the hands of D. Williams Patterson, of Newark Valley, N. Y.

*VII. An imperfect copy of Norris was published in Hill's N. H. Patriot—the date I cannot tell—is referred to by Miner, who did not observe a loss of two days, and connects the destruction of Chemung with that of Queen Esther's town.

VIII. Capt. Theodosius Fowler, beginning with Aug. 30, is in Campbell's Border Wars, and O'Reilly's Hist. of Rochester. Stone, in his life of Brant, says there was no more of it when he had it—I have not yet got a copy.

*IX. Lieut. William Barton—published in N. J. Hist. Soc. Transactions, vol. ii.

*X. Dr. Ebenezer Elmer—published as above. See, also, Hist. Mag. Aug. 1862. My copy ends August 12.

XI. —— Newman—referred to by Miner—and is supposed to have been burned in the fire which consumed the office of the "Record of the Times," Wilkesbarre, April 9, 1867.

*XII. Lieut. Thomas Blake—published in Kidder's Hist. of First N. H. Reg't.

*XIII. Lieut. Daniel Gookin—published New England Hist. and Gen. Register, Jan. 1862, pp. 27–33, ends with Sept. 5.

*XIV. Lieut. Rudolph Van Hovenberg—original in hands of Dr. F. B. Hough, Lowville, N. Y.

*XV. Dr. Jabez Campfield—republished in the Wyoming (Tunkhannock) Rep., Dec. 31, 1873–Jan. 28, 1874, from N. J. Hist. Soc. Trans. (?)

*XVI. Lieut. William Rogers—original in hands of L. B. Rogers, Esq., Newark, N. J.—is but little else than a table of distances, of but little or no value.

*XVII. Lieut. John L. Hardenberg—original in hands of Rev. Dr. Hawley, of Auburn Theo. Seminary.

*XVIII. Rev. William Rogers, D. D.—published in Universal Mag. for 1797, vol. i. pp. 390–399, and vol. ii. pp. 86–91, and 200–206. This copy ends Aug. 7. Sidney S. Rider is about to publish it complete to Sept. 5.

*XIX. Erkuries Beatty—original in the N. Y. Hist. Soc.

*XX. Gen. Henry Dearborn—original MSS. in hands of family in Boston, Mass.

*XXI. Nathaniel Webb—published in 1855 (?) Elmira Republican. Have been able to secure only a fragment.

Besides these, Capt. William Pierce of Col. Harrison's Reg't of Artillery, and 1st Aide-de-Camp to Gen. Sullivan, kept a Journal, which was copied by Major Adam Hoops. I know nothing of either.

It has also been generally believed that Col. Gansevoort kept a Journal; if so, I have not found it. The same has been said of Obadiah Gore, of Sheshequin.

Also the following persons have written narratives, more or less full, and of varying value:—

*I. Col. Cortlandt—published in the Elmira Advertiser, 1879, from copy in the hands of Mr. James Riker, of Waverly.

*II. John Salmon—published in Seaver's Mary Jemisom (old ed.); also in Wyoming Massacre.

*III. Nathan Davis—published in Hist. Mag., April, 1868, p. 198, *et passim.*

*IV. Rev. John Gano—published in Hist. Mag., Nov. 1861, p. 330, *et passim.*

*V. Moses Van Campen—published in Memoirs.

There are also letters of James Clinton, Lt.-Col. Francis Barber, and Gen Washington besides Sullivan's Reports.

Any addition to the above will be gratefully received.

DAVID CRAFT.

STONY POINT.—The one hundredth anniversary of the assault and capture of Stony Point by Anthony Wayne, and the brave men he commanded, was celebrated at that place July 16th. The proceedings were under the charge of the WAYNE MONUMENT ASSOCIATION, and Gen. Hawley was the orator of the day. The excessive heat prevented the entire programme from being carried out, and it was wisely curtailed. "But the celebration did good," writes Professor Henry P. Johnston, of the City of New York College, "in one respect. It was the means of bringing out some very valuable material, which I propose to publish in connection with other unpublished papers. I now have the organization of Wayne's Light Infantry complete from original sources, also orders from Wayne to the Infantry not before printed." All who are familiar with Professor Johnston's scholarly production published

about a year ago by the Long Island Historical Society, entitled *The Campaign of 1776 around New York and Brooklyn*, will rejoice that the work of telling the story of Wayne's brilliant achievement has fallen into such able hands, and Pennsylvanians, for Wayne's sake, should be foremost in aiding the good work.

Length of Generations.—Under this title there have appeared in the London "Notes and Queries" within the last year, numerous instances of the longevity of three generations, dating from the birth of a grandfather to the death of a grandson. Of these but one represents a term exceeding two centuries, viz., Robert Maude, b. 1673, d. 1750; his son Cornwallis (Lord Hawarden) b. 1729, d. 1808; his grandson Francis b. 1798, living in 1878, being 205 years.

It may be noted that William Penn was born 1644, d. 1718. His son Thomas b. 1702, d. 1775; his grandson Granville b. 1761, d. 1844, precisely 200 years.

Can any one of our readers supply similar instances? J.

Pittsburgh, Pa., in 1760 and 1761.—[As we wish the Pennsylvania Magazine to be truly a storehouse of material for the history of the State, we shall from time to time, as our space will permit, reprint such articles of particular interest as have appeared elsewhere, that they may be preserved in a place in which they will be most likely sought. The article below is from the *Historical Magazine*, vol. ii. p. 273.—Ed.]

The following are extracts from the MS. Diary of James Kenney, of Chester County, Penna., who was residing in Pittsburgh, keeping a store for some members of the Pemberton family in Philadelphia. He was a member of the Society of Friends, and at one time had been a schoolmaster.

Philadelphia. William Duane.

"1761, 8th mo. 4th.—A young man called William Ramsey has made two little boats, being squair at y^e^ sterns, and joined to gether at y^e^ sterns by a swivel, makes y^e^ two in form of one batoe, but will turn round shorter than a boat of y^e^ same length, or raise with more safety in falls and in case of striking rocks; he has also made an engine that goes with wheels enclosed in a box, to be worked by one man, by sitting on y^e^ end of y^e^ box, and treding on traddles at bottom with his feet, sets y^e^ wheels agoing, which work scullers or short paddles fixed over y^e^ gunnels turning them round; y^e^ under ones always laying hold in y^e^ water, will make y^e^ battoe goe as if two men rowed, and he can steer at y^e^ same time by lines like plow lines.

"11th mo. 19th.—The Fort Banks here is very near raised, which makes it look much stronger than it was in times of more danger; by accounts y^e^ front next y^e^ Inhabitants being of brick, and corners of y^e^ angle of hewn stone, about —— foot high, y^e^ back part next y^e^ point where y^e^ two rivers meets being of earth, and soded all so that it grows thick of long grass, that was done last year, and they have mowed y^e^ bank several times this summer; it's four squair with a row of barracks along each squair, three rows of which are wooden frame work, and y^e^ row on y^e^ back side next y^e^ point is brick; also a large brick house built this summer in y^e^ southeast corner, y^e^ roof being now aputing on, having fine steps at y^e^ door of hewn freestone, a cellar all under it, at y^e^ back side of y^e^ barracks opens y^e^ doors of y^e^ magazines, vaults, and dungeons; lying under y^e^ great banks of earth thrown out of y^e^ great trinches, all round in these are kept y^e^ stores of ammunition, etc., and prisoners that are to be tried for their lives; in these vaults are no light, but do they carry lanthorns, and on y^e^ southeast bastion stands a high poal like a mast, and top mast to hoist y^e^ flag on, which is

hoisted on every first day of y^e^ week from about eleven to one o'clock, and on state days, etc.; there are three wells of water wall'd in y^e^ fort, and a squair of clear ground in y^e^ inside of about two acres.

"20th.—I have been informed by a young man that was ordered by y^e^ Commanding Officer, Collonel Bouquet (this summer), to number all y^e^ dwelling-houses without y^e^ fort, marking the number on each door; that there was above one hundred houses, but y^e^ highest number I have seen, by better accounts, there is one hundred and fifty houses, to take notice of I think was seventy-eight, these being y^e^ inhabitants of Pittsburgh, where two years ago I have seen all y^e^ houses that were without y^e^ little fort, they had then, thrown down, only[1] one, which stands yet, also two that was within that little fort is now standing, being y^e^ hospital now, all y^e^ rest being built since, which if y^e^ place continue to increase near this manner, it must soon be very large, which seems likely to me.

"12th mo. 1.—Many of y^e^ inhabitants here have hired a schoolmaster, and subscribed above sixty pounds for this year for him, he has about twenty schollars, likewise y^e^ soberer sort of people seem to long for some public way of worship, so y^e^ schoolmaster, etc., reads y^e^ Littany and Common Prayer on y^e^ first days to a Congregation of different principles (he being a Presbiterant), where they behave very grave (as I heare), on y^e^ occasion, y^e^ children also are brought to Church as they call it.

"12th mo. 25th.—A young Indian man brought us four turkeys, saying that he was recommended by several of his acquaintances to come to y^e^ Quaker who would use him very well, and having bought them and paid him six shillings cash, besides victuals and drink, he going out heard of a better market, so came back and got y^e^ turkeys, delivering y^e^ money again, but his second Chap not pleasing him in dealing, he brought them back to us, and had his money again, but he said Dam it several times at y^e^ second Chap."

German Almanacs in the Historical Society of Pa.—To complete the series of Almanacs in the German language, printed in Pennsylvania from 1750 to 1815, those for the following years are required. Any person who can assist in furnishing them will confer a favor on the Society. 1750, 51, 52, 54, 56, 58, 1760, 61, 63, 65, 1772, 73, 1780, 82, 83, 86, 87, 1799, 1806, 15.

J.

Life of Albert Gallatin.—From the life of Albert Gallatin by Henry Adams, recently issued by Lippincott & Co., I extract the following as on page 68 from Mr. G.'s diary: 1787, Christmas day.—"Fait Noël avec Odrin (?) et Breckenridge chez Marie."

"Who these three persons were is not clear. Apparently the Breckenridge mentioned was our Judge H. H. Brackenridge, who, in his 'Incidents of the Insurrection,' or whiskey rebellion, declares that his first conversation with Gallatin was in August, 1794. Marie was not a woman, but a Genevan emigrant."

In all probability it was the Judge with whom he spent the evening of Christmas—he had settled in Pittsburgh in the spring of 1781, and at this period was an attorney-at-law in full practice. In 1794 Peter Audrain (Odrin) made an affidavit in defence of the Judge in relation to his course at the meeting at Braddock's field. In the collections of the Historical Society there is a pamphlet published in 1808 in relation to James Ross, from which it appears John Marie was born in France in 1727–8, and in 1808 was living in the family of Felix Brunot, the elder.

J. J., Jr.

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[1] Meaning *except*.

TAXABLES LIVING WITHIN THE JURISDICTION OF NEW CASTLE COURT IN NOVEMBER, 1677.—The following list of taxable persons is contained in *Records of the Court of New Castle*, Book A, pp. 197–201, preserved in the Prothonotary's Office in New Castle, Delaware. It appears in the Minutes of "a Meeting of the Justices held In y^e^ Towne of New Castle for y^e^ makeing up y^e^ accomt of y^e^ Publicq Charge of this Countij, The 9 of November, 1677," corresponding with a similar list, entered in *Record of Upland Court*, published by the Historical Society, under date of the 13th of the same month (pp. 77–80). It comprises the names of all males between the ages of sixteen and sixty years, who resided on the Delaware within the jurisdiction of New Castle Court, excepting certain officers and soldiers, as well as the Justices of the Court, who, by "the Duke's laws," were exempt from the payment of taxes, except for the support of the Church. The Justices at that time were: Messrs. John Moll, Peter Alrich, William Tom, Foppe Outhout, Walter Wharton, Jean Paul Jaquet, and Gerrit Otto. Mr. Ephraim Herman was Clerk of the Court.

A List of the Names of the Tijdable p^r^sons Living in this Courts Jurisdiction

[At "Oppoquenemij," and elsewhere on the western shore of the Delaware:]

James Viccory	1	Tho. Gilbert	1
Will. Courter	1	Edward Swendell	1
George	1	Hans Muller	1
John Harmen	1	Will. Grant	1
three negros	3	Tho. Snelling	1
Joseph Holding	1	John Whyte	1
John Foster	1	Rob. Morton	1
Thos. Linke	1	John Street	1
John Anter	1	Robb. Tallent	1
Roelof Andries	1	Albert Blocq	1
Jan Waker	1	John Berker	1
	—	John Atteway	1
Brougt ouer	13	Morris Liston	1
Adam Petersen	1	Henry Clercq	1
John Sierickx	1	Tho. Jones	1
James att J^o^ Sierix	1	2 Serv^ts^ of Morris Liston	2
Jurian Sierickx	1		—
Rut Hudde	1	Brougt ouer	54
Jo. Waker Senior	1	John Wallis & 1 servant	2
John Taylor	1	James Crawford & 1 servant	2
Will. Sherrer	1	Augustin Dikes	1
Jan Pietersen	1	Rich. Scaggs	1
Tho. Saddler	1	John Scot	1
John Arianson	1	Jacob Joung	1
Jacob his mate	1	3 slaves and 1 serv^t^	4
Peter Brink	1	Even Salisburry	1
Hendrik Walraven	1	John Roud	1
Dirk Lourens	1	Joseph Cooxen	1
Direk Williams	1	Rob. Homes	1
Edward & James Williams	2	John Hayles	1
Caspares Herman	1	Robb. Whyte	1
Phil. Cevalier	1	Thomas Dauiss	1
William Pattisson	1	Joseph Hand	1
The doctor	1	Joseph Burnham	1
John Peers	1	1 negro woman of Mr. Moll	1
Will	1	William Currer	1

James Crawford (als) Doctor	1
Anthony Bryant	1
Math. Beekman	1
John Adams	1
Ellegert the smith	1
Peter Mr. Alrichs man	1
John Eaton Taylor	1
1 neger of Mr. Alrichs	1
Harmanes Wessels	1
John Kan	1
Henry Stanbrooke	1
John Hendrix	1
Broer his man	1
Ralph Hutchinson	1
Robb. Hutchinson	1
His Cooper	1
Mr. Dunsten	1
John Matheus	1
Math. d'Ring	1
Engelbert Lott	1
Cornelis Jost	1
Isacq Taijne	1
John Bisk	1
John Harmsen & his man	2
Sijmon Gibson & his man	2
From y^e^ next Syde	104
Will. Osborne Carpenter	1
Jan Boyer	1
Claes Daniell	1
Joh. d'Haes	1
Moses d'Gan	1
Job Nettelship	1
Rodger Measur	1
Will. Still	1
Justa Andries	1
Rich. Jefferson	1
Evert Alderts	1
John Mathijsse	1
Will. Semple	1
Will. Hamelton	1
James Walliam	1
Gysbert Dirks	1
Hendrik Williams and Sibrant his man	2
Huijbert Hendrix	1
Reynier v. Coelen	1
Ambroos Backer	1
Gerrit Smith & son	2
Tho. Sprij	1
Phill. Huggan	1
Humphrij Cittly	1
Jan Hulk	1
Peter Maeslander	1
Huybert Lourens	1
Peter Volckerts	1
Claes Andries	1
Oele Toersen	1
Symen Eskell	1
Patrik Carr	1
Peter Mathiass	1
Hendrik Sibrants	1
John Sibrants	1
Sybrant Janss	1
Hendrik Fransen	1
Jan Barentse	1
Humphrij Nicols	1
Peter d'Witt	1
Cornelis Jansen	1
Brougt ouer	147
Evert Hendrix	1
Symen Jansen	1
John Mattson	1
Hendrik Everts	1
Lace Andries	1
Eskell Andries	1
Hendrik Lemmens	1
Will. Scott	1
Hendrik Andries	1
Andries Andriesse	1
Moens Poulsen	1
Stostell Michill Mijer	1
Peter Jan & Poull Jacquet	3
Peter Claasse and 2 sons	3
Peter Claasses boy	1
Jurian Bootsman & son	2
Andries Sinnex	1
Mathias Hutt	1
Seger Aukes	1
Peter Slobe	1
Poull Laersen	1
Marten Gerritz & his son	2
John Arskin & son	2
John Ogle	1
Thos. Harris	1
John Ogles servant	1
Jan Gerritz	1
George More	1
Will. Jeacox	1
Andries Tille	1
John Watkins	1
Tho. Jacobs & 3 sons	4
Aert Jansen	1
John Hummersen	1
Oele Poulse & his brother	2
Swart Jacob & 2 sons	3
Harmen Jansen	1
Will. Raynboo	1
Walraven Jansen	1
Gysbert Walravens	1
Broer Sinnex	1

Jurian Jurians	1
Jan Sinnexe	1
Mathias Mathiass d'Vos	1
From y^e^ next syde	204
Jan Andries	1
Will. Sandford	1
Charles y^e^ frensman	1
Sam. Peters & son	2
Lace Wayman	1
Tymen Stiddam & 4 sons	5
John Andries & 2 sons	3
Jacob v. Veer & 2 sons	3
Hans Peters	1
Peter Hendrix	1
Justa Poulsen	1
Juns y^e^ smith	1
Peter Jegou	1
Hendrik Nealson	1
Jacob & Oele Clemmens	2
Hendrik Claassen	1
Lace Oelsen	1
Oele Oelsen & 2 sons	3
Poull Moensen	1
Carell Petersen	1
Xtopher Barnes & 1 serv^t^	2
Barent Gerritze	1
Markus Lourens	1
Neeles Neelsen	1
Oele Fransen & son	2
	243
Easterne Shoare	
Jan Hendrix	1
Dauid & Peter Hendriks	2
Isacq Sanoij	1
Mathias Nealson & man	2
Mats Matsen	1
Peter Roelofs & son	2
Lucas Peters & 2 sons	3
Jan Erix	1
Poul Mincq	1
Jan Hermsen Krull	1
Mr. Outhouts 2 servants	2
Will. Giljamsen	1
Claes Jansen	1
Mach. Lacroa senior	1
Mach. Lacro junior	1
Jan Lacroy	1
Brought ouer	265
Aert Jansen	1
Stephen Jurians	1
Lace Hendriks	1
Math. Bertelsen	1
Erik Jurians & servant	2
John Tingell	1
Jan Cornelyss	1
Mach. Baron & 2 sons	1
Tho. Arnold	1
Gerrit v. Immen	3
Joh. v. Immen	1
Jelles Giljamsen	1
Hans Schier	1
John Pledger	1
Hipolet Lafever & servant	2
John Smith	1
Sam. Nicolls	1
Sam. Hedge & neger	2
Rodger Huggings	1
Edw. Chamnies & serv^t^	2
Anthony Padge	1
Will. GoodChild	1
Will. Wilkissen	1
Will. Moestersman	1
John Fuller	1
Markus Ellegart	1
Rich. Guy	1
and 3 servants	3
Thom. Wattson	1
Tho. Dodwell & servant	2
John Smith	1
Abram Eenloos	1
John Nicolls	1
The whole number of y^e^ Tydables being	307

I say 307 Tydables. G. B. K.

DUKE OF YORKE'S BOOK OF LAWS—CHARTER AND LAWS OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNA.—1676–1700. HARRISBURG, 1879.—In an address before the Law Academy in 1838, the Hon. Peter McCall gave an interesting outline of the judicial history of Pennsylvania, and added a list of the judges of the provincial court down to the time of the revolution. In a lecture before the same institution in 1868, William Henry Rawle, Esq., traced the growth of equitable jurisdiction in Pennsylvania, and with it is printed the Registrar's book of Governor Keith's Court of Chancery, containing the records of that Court from 1720 to 1735. In the volume now before us, prepared under the direction of the Hon. John Blair Linn by Messrs. Staughton George, Benj.

M. Nead, and Thomas McCamant, and giving evidence of much careful research and special knowledge of the subject, may be found all the material for the early judicial history of Pennsylvania. It begins with the code of laws in force under the government of the Duke of York from 1676 until abrogated by Penn's Assembly of 1683. Some of these laws are curious enough. Among the offences punished with death are the denial of "the true God and his Attributes," to forcibly steal or carry away "any Mankind," and for any child to smite his natural father or mother. It is provided that "No Christian shall be kept in Bond-slavery, villenage, or captivity, Except Such who shall be Judged thereunto by authority, or such as willingly have sould or shall sell themselves." The minister of every parish "shall preach constantly every Sunday," and pray for the King, Queen, Duke of York, and the royal family. A fine is imposed upon any one "who shall wittingly and willingly forge or Publish fals news whereof no Certain Author nor Authentique Letter out of any part of Europe can be produced."

The second part of the book is devoted to the laws established by Penn, which are in marked contrast with those they superseded. The corner stone of the system is that all persons who confess the one eternal God "shall in no ways be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion or practice in matters of faith or worship, nor shall they be compelled at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place, or ministry whatever." Then follows a collection of the "Court Laws," and the growth of the judicial system is accurately traced in the introduction. Among those to whose efforts this system owed its origin and development were David Lloyd, Thomas Holmes, Thomas Lloyd, Samuel Richardson, Thomas Pemberton, John Guest, Edward Shippen, Isaac Norris, and Samuel Carpenter.

The volume closes with a series of "Historical Notes" on the government beginning with the Dutch settlement and continued until the year 1700. The only gap is in the year 1691, which was caused, the author supposes, by the intentional destruction of the minutes of the Assembly and the Council. On the whole the book is worthy of much commendation, and possesses great value for both lawyers and historians. It is to be hoped that no niggardly spirit will interfere with the printing of all the archives in the possession of the Commonwealth, as that is the only way in which they can be preserved and made accessible. S. W. P.

In the July number of HARPER'S MAGAZINE, there is an article entitled *A Peninsular Canaan*, in which we find the following regarding the "Old Welsh Tract Church," New Castle County, Delaware:—

Many of the tombstones are very old. One of them has an inscription, nearly erased, in old Welsh:—

Riceus Rythrough
Traues ahud ſſanwenoc
In Comitaru Cardigan
erhrie Sepultus ſuit
An Dom 1707
Ætat is fine 87.

Had the writer been less imbued with that spirit which engrossed the immortal Pickwick at the time of the discovery of the inscription

+
BILST
UM
PSHI
S.M.
ARK

and borne in remembrance the days of his classic studies, we think he would have made the old Welsh to read:—

Riceus Rythrough
Natus apud Llanwenog[1]
In Comitatu Cardigan
et hic Sepultus fuit
An. Dom. 1707
Ætatis suæ 87. C. R. H.

Nationality of Robert Fulton.—Robert Fulton has been selected by the State Commissioners as one of the two Pennsylvanians to represent the Commonwealth in the gallery of statuary at the Capitol in Washington. It is, therefore, proper that all question regarding the land of his nativity should be settled. The following article having appeared in no less authoritative publication than the London Notes and Queries (5th Series, vol. vi. p. 125, 1876) we make no apology for reprinting it, with such evidence as leaves but little doubt of the truth of the American version:—

"The following letter was in a late number of the Glasgow News:—

"'One of the greatest achievements of the present century is steam navigation. The credit of first successfully proving this belongs to my granduncle, Robert Fulton. Though usually called an American, he was born in the Mill of Beith, in the county of Ayr. In consequence of having offered some torpedo invention to the French, he concealed the fact of his Scottish origin as much as possible, and when last in this country only visited his relatives here by stealth, being afraid that proceedings would be taken against him by the British Government. On that occasion I perfectly remember, as a boy, to have seen him. He married an American lady, Harriet Livingston. He got into pecuniary difficulties in America, and retired to the West Indies, where he died. Others of his relatives, still alive, remember him. I am, etc.,

"'Knows, Lochwinnoch, July, 1876. John Stevenson.'

"To this account the News adds some remarks, from which I take the following:—

"'Briefly summed up, the American biography is as follows: They say Fulton was born near Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, in 1765. His parents were Irish, his grandfather having immigrated from Tipperary. His father died when he was three years old, leaving his family in poverty. Young Fulton early showed a fondness for painting and mechanics, and was so successful with his pencil that before he was twenty-one he had made enough money to purchase a farm in Pennsylvania for his mother. In 1786 he visited London, and became the pupil of the celebrated painter, West. In London he made the acquaintance of many distinguished men, such as the Duke of Bridgewater, Earl Stanhope, and others, and gradually diverted his attention from painting to the improvement of machinery. In 1796 he published a treatise on canal navigation. Shortly afterwards he went to Paris, where he made an offer of his invention of the torpedo to the French Government. In 1806 he married the daughter of Mr. Walter Livingston, having previously returned to the United States, where he was successful in introducing steam navigation between New York and Albany. He died February, 1815, leaving four children.

"'Mr. Lindsay, in the last volume of his *History of Merchant Shipping*, was the first to make any investigation into the Scottish origin of Fulton. The result of his inquiries produced a very different story. Robert Fulton was born in Beith Parish, in the county of Ayr, in April, 1764. His parents were in comfortable circumstances, and gave their son an excellent education. Through the influence of relatives who had a high position in business in London, he, when quite a young man, went there to complete his studies. From that period to about 1815 the biographies are the same; but at the time when the Ameri-

[1] Llanwenog (Lower and Upper), Cardigan, a parish in the hundred of Moyddyn, union of Lampeter, on the river Teife, South Wales; 268 miles from London, 6 from Lampeter, 13 from Newcastle.—Clarke's British Gazetteer, 1852.

can version makes him die, the other account makes him get into pecuniary difficulties in America, brings him to this country, leaves his wife in London, and makes him pay a farewell visit to his relatives in Scotland, and then retire to the West Indies where he died, leaving no family, shortly after 1822. The American story is liable to doubt, even from internal evidence. Fulton is a Scotch, and not an Irish family name. Fulton himself is well known to have been a Presbyterian, which is in favor of the Scottish origin, and against the Irish one: and Henry Bell, who was personally acquainted with Fulton, in one of the letters printed in 1844, distinctly says that he was of Ayrshire origin. J. S.' "

The assertion of Mr. Stevenson is worthy of weight, as it is supposable that a man would know something of his granduncle, and the fact that an individual of the name of Robert Fulton was born about 1764 in the county of Ayr is supported by the investigation of Mr. Lindsay. That the person so named was, however, the inventor, we cannot believe in the light of evidence we have to the contrary, and we are forced to the conclusion that common rumor confused the two men. The argument of Mr. Lindsay or J. S. "that the American story is liable to doubt from internal evidence" has no weight on the points taken, and only shows how little the person who made it knew of the history of the settlement of Pennsylvania. The locality which the American version states was the birth-place of Robert Fulton was settled by what is known as Scotch-Irish, or Ulster Scot families, and we find to-day all through Lancaster County such names as McIlvain, McNeely, Adair, and others sufficiently Caledonian to leave no doubt of their origin, borne by persons whose ancestors had emigrated from Ireland, and brought with them the love for the Westminster Confession, which their descendants cherish to-day.

It is not, however, on such arguments that the connection of the name Fulton with Lancaster County rests. A letter in the possession of Gilbert Cope, of West Chester, Pa., written by the Robert Fulton whom we suppose was the father of the inventor, is dated Lancaster, Aug. 15, 1764. On the 23d of Aug. 1759, Robt. Fulton, Sr., purchased a house at the N. E. corner of Centre Square, in the town of Lancaster, and sold the same Feb. 8, 1765, to Edward Shippen. The same day he purchased at sheriff's sale a farm in Little Britain Township, which was mortgaged to William West, Samuel Purviance, and Joseph Swift; and, on the 29th of Nov. 1766, he and his wife, Mary, conveyed the property to the mortgagees. These facts, which are given by J. Franklin Reigart, the latest biographer of Fulton, appear to be gathered from the office of Recorder of Deeds, Lancaster Co., and prove without question that the name of Fulton existed in that county at the time it is claimed the inventor was born.[1] The life of Fulton by his early and intimate friend, Cadwallader D. Colden, published almost immediately after his death, is the authority for the American version of the inventor's career, and we see no reason to question it, supported as it is in most of its statements. Mr. Colden says that Fulton became a miniature painter, and before he was of age purchased a farm in Washington County, Pa., for his widowed mother. Mr. John D. McKennan, of Washington, Pa., writes to me, that Deed Book C, vol. i. p. 56, of Wash. Co. Record shows that on May 6, 1786, Thomas and Margaret Pollock sold to Robert Fulton, miniature painter of Phila., a farm of 84¾ acres. Dr. Alfred Creigh, of Washington, Pa., informs me that from original papers in his possession it appears that Robert Fulton purchased three lots, Nos. 4, 218, and 125 in the borough of Washington from John and William Hoge. That on May 20, 1793, he wrote to his sisters "I have sent Mr. Hoge a power of attorney to transfer the

[1] A curious document in the *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania* (vol. ix. p. 126), in regard to the killing of the Conestoga Indians, leaves no doubt that one Robert Fulton, a Presbyterian, resided in Lancaster Co., Pa., in 1764.

lots as they may be settled by mutual consent among you, that each person may have writings drawn so as to secure them to their heirs," etc. Dr. Creigh adds that Mrs. David Morris chose lot 4, Mrs. Isabella Cook lot 218, and Mrs. Peggy Scott lot 125; and that he also has a paper of Abraham S. Fulton's, dated July 26, '93, assigning all the right and claim that he may have in the estate of his brother Robert, then living in England, should he die without issue. The will of Robert Fulton the inventor, proved and entered in the Surrogate office in New York City, Feb. 25, 1815, leaves to his brother, Abraham Smith Fulton, three thousand dollars; to his sister, Elizabeth Scott, one thousand dollars, and the farm on which she resided; to Isabella Cook two thousand dollars, and to Mary Morris five hundred dollars, thus connecting the Robert Fulton, miniature painter of Phila., 1786, with the person who died in New York, 1815. The idea that it was not the inventor who died in 1815, but that he went to the West Indies and died childless in 1822 is too preposterous to be entertained for a moment by any one who will read the works of Colden and Reigart. In the former will be found the full account of the last illness of the inventor by Dr. Hosack, who attended him; in the latter his will, in which he makes disposition of the annual profits arising from his steamboats. F. D. S.

Sir William Pepperrell.—In the *Magazine of American History* for August, 1879 (pp. 517–18), some of the descendants of Sir William Pepperrell are spoken of. About twenty-five years ago a Polish gentleman, named Lehmanowski, resided in Philadelphia, where he taught French. His wife was a descendant of Pepperrell. They had in their possession a portrait of him. W. D.

Queries.

"Tomahawk."—The origin of this word is in dispute. Webster says it is "Indian; Algonkin *tomehagen*, Mohegan *tumnahegan*, Delaware *tamoihecan*." In Church's History of King Philip's War, 1716, p. 24, it is printed "*tomahog*." And yet, all these authorities to the contrary notwithstanding, in a small volume published of late years, giving the genealogy of Benjamin West, the distinguished American artist, the following remarkable statement as to the origin of the word is given in apparent good faith: "In the year 1677 or 1678 one Thomas Pearson from England settled in a cave on the west bank of the Delaware River, now below Philadelphia. He was a blacksmith by trade, and it is said wielded the first smith's hammer in Pennsylvania. About the first work done was to make small axes for his Indian neighbours, who in their short way termed him *Tom*, or *Tommy*. In their language the word *hawk* signifies any tool used for cutting. Hence the origin of the word *tomahawk*." This Pearson was the grandfather of Benjamin West. Webster gives the definition of the word thus: "An Indian weapon, being a wooden club, two feet or more in length, terminating in a heavy knob; applied also to the Indian hatchet." Is there any authority for the connection of the word with Tommy Pearson?

Brownsville, Pa. Horace Edwin Hayden.

Jesse Torrey.—Where is a biography to be found of this author, who published, in 1817, "A Portraiture of Domestic Slavery in the United States"? D.

Nutt Family of Penna. and New Jersey.—Woodward, in his history of Bordentown, has mentioned incidentally the family of Nutt of that place. Is any connection known to exist between this family and those mentioned in "the Memorial of Thomas Potts, Jr., by Mrs. Thomas Potts James, 1874," see p. 372? There are but one or two wills in this name recorded in Philadelphia before 1800. I should be glad of any early genealogical data relating to the Nutts. William John Potts.

Camden, New Jersey.

"Socken above the Great Swamp," Virginia.—In an advertisement in the year 1731 I find a place designated thus, which I have been unable to locate, not finding it in the Gazetteer. Can any of your correspondents help me? It may have been of Indian origin, and have various spellings.

Camden, New Jersey. William John Potts.

Margaret Coghlan.—Can any one inform the undersigned of the career of Mrs. Margaret Coghlan after the publication of her "Memoirs"? She dated these, Dec. 7, 1793. *When* and *where* did she die? What was her subsequent conduct?

Sabine says, "She died a heart-broken woman."

Aaron Burr stands charged with her ruin, whilst Parton, his latest biographer, denies this. Which statement is correct? Cocked Hat.

Replies.

Major White (vol. viii. p. 236).—I have frequently tried to discover who the Major White was that Watson states died from wounds received at the battle of Germantown. It is incorrect to say that he is not mentioned by either Washington or Sullivan. The letter of the latter to President Weare, Oct. 23, 1777, reads: "We lost some valuable officers, among whom were the brave General Nash, and my two aid-de-camps, Majors Sherburne and White, whose singular bravery must ever do honor to their memories." I think, however, Watson must have confused the antecedents of Sullivan's aid with those of Colonel John White, who commanded the Georgia regiment. An account of the last-named officer will be found in *White's Historical Collection of Georgia*, p. 367, and in *Historical Magazine*, vol. ii. p. 181. The latter article is by I. K. T. (I. K. Tefft?), of Savannah. Drake abridges it as follows: "Born in England, d. Va. about 1780. Of Irish parentage. He acquired a fortune as surgeon in the British Navy, and settled in Phila. He entered the Rev. Army as capt., and was soon promoted to Colonel of the 4th Ga. Batt. . . . . he was severely wounded at the assault of Spring-hill redoubt, Oct. 9, 1779 (where Pulaski fell), and was obliged to retire from the army," and died soon afterwards in Va. from a pulmonary attack, produced by fatigue and exposure. It seems hardly likely that two persons of the same name, of Irish extraction, should have acquired fortunes, settled in Philada., and both entered the army, the one to command a Georgia regiment, the other to be an aid to a N. Hampshire General. F. D. S.

Herman (vol. ii. p. 349).—Ephraim Augustine Herman had two daughters by his first wife, Isabella Trent. Their names were Mary and Catharine.

G. J.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

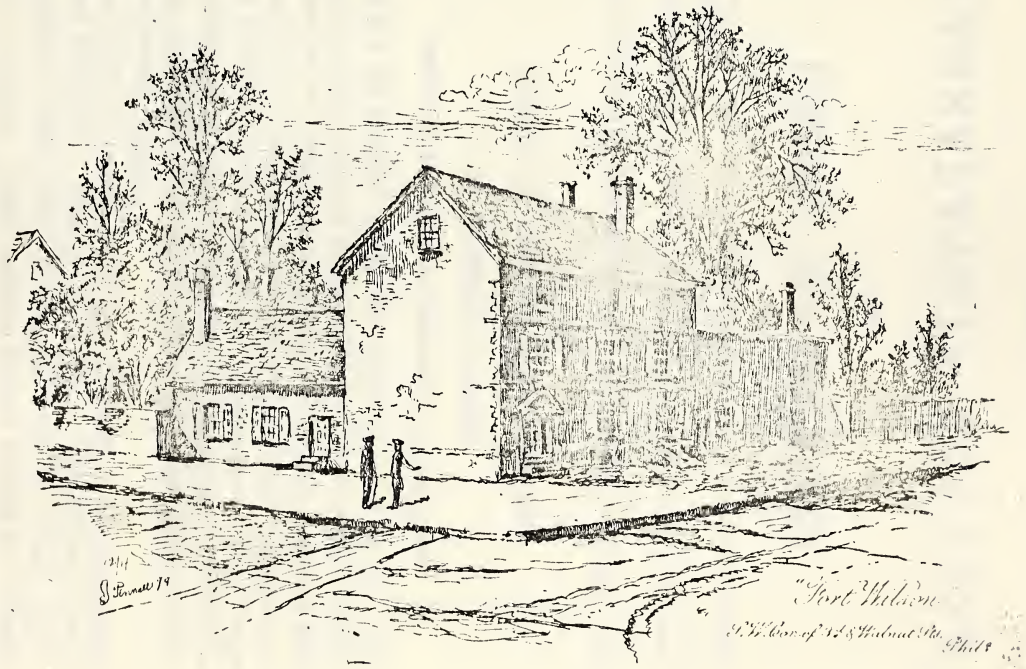
[illegible]

Sloop of War Warren (vol. iii. p. 117).—The dilapidated vessel "A Subscriber" saw at Panama in 1874, was not the sloop of war Warren, of 32 guns, "burned in the Penobscot in 1779," but one of the same name, of 18 guns, built at Charlestown, Mass., in 1826. The last service this vessel performed, as one of our navy, is thought to have been as Receiving Ship at Panama. She was there in that capacity in 1860. W. A. W.

Townsend White (vol. iii. p. 235).—As one of the descendants of Townsend White, I can give a few facts about him, though I am anxious to learn more. I never heard any of the family claim any relationship to the family of Bishop White. Their attendance at the same church in Philadelphia was simply a coincidence. Townsend White came from Bristol, England, and his parents were Welsh. The arms are three roses and a chevron. He was Warden of Christ Church, Philadelphia, and married a Renaudet of Philadelphia. One daughter married Moore Furman, another daughter William Edgar, and a third daughter William Constable, of N. Y. You will find, on pages 201–202 of the Bartow Genealogy, all that is known of him so far. E. B.

——— William Constable and Ann White were married by Rev. William White, D.D., Feb. 28, 1782 (Christ Church Records). Ann d. of Townsend and Ann White was born July 15, 1759, and baptized Oct. 10, 1759 (Christ Church Records). A conveyance is on record in Philadelphia of a property on Front and Water Streets from Townsend White, merchant, and Ann his wife, bearing date May 18, 1773, which he had purchased from Joseph Richardson Dec. 26, 1758. T. H. M.

Frances Slocum (vol. iii. pp. 115, 238).—We have received several replies to this query, which throw no light on the point under discussion, and only repeat the well-known account of the discovery of Frances Slocum by Colonel Ewing in 1837. Ed.


"Fort Hudson"

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VOL. III. 1879. No. 4.

PHILADELPHIA SOCIETY ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO,

OR THE

REIGN OF CONTINENTAL MONEY.

BY FREDERICK D. STONE.

Read at the Meeting of the Historical Society, May 5, 1879.

We are all familiar with the appearance of those rudely engraved, poorly printed pieces of coarse paper which awaken recollections of traditionary fortunes ruthlessly snatched from our ancestors; which bear devices and mottoes suggestive of "Poor Richard;" which recall the sufferings of Valley Forge, and which are so surrounded with an atmosphere of buff and blue as to render most appropriate the name given to them of Continental Money.

In our city, a hundred years ago, these notes were exercising a potent influence. They had not then reached that state of depreciation which made their existence as money only a question of time. Their zealous friends hoped, by "Tender Laws" and other measures, to infuse new confidence in their value. But neither the proposition to exchange the notes in circulation for certificates of indebtedness bearing interest,

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nor the attempt to regulate the prices of the necessaries of life proved of the least avail. The people could see but little difference in the two kinds of paper, both fearfully depreciated; while the holders of commodities, because of their refusal to part with them at any price rather than accept that fixed by law, were stigmatized as speculators and forestallers, and this added to the feeling of discontent.

It is not my intention to enter upon an examination of the causes of these financial difficulties, or to follow them to their conclusions; but only to glance at the effect which they had on the domestic and social life of our citizens, and to picture Philadelphia society at that time. If, in doing this, I should grate on your feelings by exhibiting some of the days of the Revolution in colors other than those in which they are generally presented, I beg you to remember the words of that excellent authority, Diedrich Knickerbocker: "It has ever been the task of one race of philosophers to demolish the works of their predecessors, and elevate more splendid fantasies in their stead, which in their turn are demolished and replaced by the air-castles of a succeeding generation."[1]

After the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British in June, 1778, Gen. Arnold was made its military commander. He at once entered into a style of living ill suited to his means, and was charged with having engaged in speculations of a questionable character. The unblushing publicity with which he used his authority for the advancement of his own schemes, his high position, and the splendor of his entertainments could not but have an injurious effect in a community already demoralized by the evils of an inflated currency, and Philadelphia soon became the centre of speculation and of the pursuit of private gain.

Wealth thus easily acquired was as freely squandered; and, while luxuries of all kinds were being enjoyed by one class of citizens, the expenses and burthens of others were greatly increased. On none did the weight fall more heavily than on those public servants whose salaries in paper money were

[1] *History of New York*, chap. ii.

being daily diminished by its depreciation. These causes and the return of Congress soon made our city what it was in the winter of '76–'77, when Richard Henry Lee wrote of it as an "attractive scene of debauch and amusement;"[1] and James Lovell, as "a place of Crucifying expenses."[2]

On Sunday afternoon, July 12th, Gerard, the French Ambassador, arrived in Philadelphia. He was escorted to the apartments which had been prepared for him by a committee of Congress; and, on the Tuesday following, his credentials were presented to that body. On the 6th of August, at 12 o'clock, he was formally received by Congress, and in the afternoon a grand banquet was given in his honor. On Sunday, the 23d of August, the birthday of Louis the Sixteenth, the President and the members of Congress called upon his Minister to offer their congratulations, and two days afterwards Gerard gave an elegant entertainment at the City Tavern.

These events, following so closely upon the news of the French alliance, had their influence on the fashions of the day, and Timothy Pickering, a man of plain taste, thus ungallantly wrote to his wife: "I mentioned to you the enormous head-dresses of the ladies here. The more I see, the more I am displeased with them. 'Tis surprising how they fix such loads of trumpery on their polls; and not less so that they are by any one deemed ornamental. The Whig ladies seem as fond of them as others. I am told by a French gentleman they are in the true French taste, only that they want a few very long feathers. The married ladies, however, are not all infected. One of the handsomest (General Mifflin's lady) I have seen in the State does not dress her head higher than was common in Salem a year ago. But you know, my dear, I have odd, old-fashioned notions. Neither powder nor pomatum has touched my head this twelvemonth, not even to cover my

[1] Lee to Washington, Sparks's *Correspondence of the Revolution*, vol. i. p. 367.

[2] Lovell to Washington, *Ibid.* 412.

baldness. The latter I find a very common thing, now men have left off their wigs."[1]

It is not surprising that the Whigs gloried in the opportunity that was offered them to retaliate upon the Tories for their conduct, while protected by the British. One Whig who did not wish to purchase anything of a Tory, found it troublesome to learn the sentiments of those with whom he was dealing, and proposed that the houses of the disaffected should be marked, as the Turks designated "the residences of liars, by painting them black." Another suggested that "the right side of the face, and the right hand" of every Tory, "be dyed black," and added "if *that* don't answer, it will not be any great loss if the whole body is set to dying."[2]

It was the wish of many of the citizens that the Tory ladies who had taken part in the Meschianza and other entertainments given by the British, should be excluded from the social gatherings in which the Whigs indulged in the autumn of '78, and the winter following. With this view, a ball was given at the City Tavern "to the young ladies who had manifested their attachment to the cause of virtue and freedom by sacrificing every convenience to the love of their country."[3] "Tell those Philadelphia ladies who attended Howe's assemblies and levees," wrote General Wayne from camp in July, "that the heavenly, sweet, pretty red-coats, the accomplished gentlemen of the guards and grenadiers, have been humbled on the plains of Monmouth. The knights of the *Blended Roses* and of the *Burning Mount* have resigned their laurels to rebel officers, who will lay them at the feet of *those* virtuous daughters of America who cheerfully gave up ease and affluence in a city for liberty and peace of mind in a cottage."[4] But all did not think and speak as Wayne.

Arnold's conduct had given great offence to many of the most active supporters of the American cause, and had involved him in a quarrel with the authorities of Pennsylvania,

[1] *Life of Timothy Pickering*, vol. i. p. 215.
[2] Moore's *Diary of the American Revolution*, vol. ii. p. 87.
[3] *Annals of Philadelphia*, Watson, vol. ii. p. 297.
[4] *Life and Services of Gen. Anthony Wayne.* By H. N. Moore, p. 64.

who administered the government of the State under a new Constitution. This Constitution had occasioned much heart-burning and bitter feeling, and its opponents, many of whom were good Whigs, together with those who sympathized with the British, gathered around the military commander, and for a while influenced the gayeties of the day. "New Characters," says a letter from Philadelphia in November, "are emerging from obscurity like insects after a storm. Treason, Disaffection to the interests of America, and even assistance to the British interest is called . . . Error of Judgment which candor and liberality of sentiment will overlook." Such ideas were undoubtedly those entertained by Arnold and some of his friends, for the same letter goes on to say, "Will you think it extraordinary that General Arnold made a publick Entertainment the night before last of which not only Tory ladies, but the Wives and Daughters of Persons proscribed by the State, and now with the enemy at New York, formed a very considerable number."[1] Another writer, whose loyalty to his country does not admit of doubt, but whose party zeal made his judgment err woefully, wrote: "General Arnold is become very unpopular [among the] men in power in Congress, and among those of this State in general. Every Gentleman, every man who has a liberal way of thinking, highly approve his conduct. He has been civil to every gentleman who has taken the oath, intimate with none. The Ladies, as well those who have taken an active part (as our low-lived fellows will call it), as those who are good approved Whigs, have been visited and treated with the greatest civilities."[2] "I know of no news," wrote Mrs. Robt. Morris to her mother the same month, "unless to tell you we are very gay is such. We have a great many balls and entertainments, and soon the Assembly will begin. Tell Mr. Hall even our military gentlemen are too liberal to make any distinction between Whig and Tory ladyes. If they make any it is in favor of the latter. Such, strange as it may seem, is the way those things

[1] Reed to Greene, *Lee Papers*, vol. iii. p. 250, 252, in Publications of the New York Historical Society, 1873.

[2] Cadwalader to Greene, *Ibid.* 270.

are conducted at present in this city. It originates at head-quarters, and that I may make some apology for such strange conduct, I must tell you that Cupid has given our little General a more mortal wound than all the hosts of Britons could, unless his present conduct can expiate for his past—Miss Peggy Shippen is the fair one."[1]

It is not our privilege to have even a passing glance at the ball-rooms of Arnold and his friends; but, from what we know of some of the characters, and of the events in which they figured, it does not require a very fertile brain to picture the changes which had been wrought in the manners of the Quaker City since its Provincial days. The leading belle was no doubt Peggy Shippen, then in her eighteenth year, soon to become the wife of the military commander. Her character has more than once been the subject of an almost cruel scrutiny; but those who have thus closely considered it have pronounced her an innocent sufferer for her husband's crimes. If, however, her guilt had been confessed, and it could have been said of her, as of the heroine of Esmond, that "she was imperious, she was light-minded, she was flighty, she was false," and that "she had no reverence for character," it is doubtful whether her punishment would have been more severe than it was, for, like Beatrix, "she was very beautiful." Then there were the two sisters of Miss Peggy, Sarah and Molly Shippen, who, with their sister, had been knight's ladies at the famous Meschianza, and of whose extravagances we will hear more anon.[2] The ladies of the families of Foot-

[1] Penna. Mag., vol. ii. 162.

[2] In making the statement that the Miss Shippens were present at the Meschianza I followed the accounts written by Major André and others. Since the paper was read I have received a letter from Mr. Lawrence Lewis, Jr., from which I extract the following, that will be new to those interested in the history of that celebration: I would like to communicate to you a suggestion in reference to one part of your address. You stated that Mrs. Arnold and her two sisters (daughters of Shippen, C. J.), were present at the Meschianza. Although all the printed and published accounts of that festivity have made a similar statement, the tradition in the Shippen family has always been to the contrary. The young ladies had been invited, and had arranged to go; their names were upon the programmes, and their

man, Amiel, Clifton, Odell, Bard, and Riche were also of this set.

The witty Rebecca Franks was one of the number. Her father, David Franks, lived at the corner of Lodge and Second Streets, opposite the old Slate Roof House, once the home of William Penn. When the British were in the city, a young girl looked out of the windows of this house, as young girls do nowadays, at what was going on over the way, and in after years told another generation "that there were rare doings at David Franks's when General Howe would tie his horse at the door, and go in to call on the young ladies."[1] It was during the time that Arnold commanded in the city that Gen. Charles Lee wrote his well-known letter to Miss Franks, upon hearing that she had mistaken his sherryvallies for green breeches patched with leather. The humor and wit of this production cannot be disputed, but it is so broad in its character, that we are not surprised that it was received with indignation, and that its author felt called upon to apologize. It seems strange, at the present time, that it should have been printed in the magazines of the day; but it is hardly right to judge, as we do not now consider the writings of Fielding and Smollett the most refined reading in the world. So many excellent specimens of Miss Franks's wit have been preserved, that, at the risk of being considered garrulous, I will make her the mouthpiece of that brilliant circle which she so well illustrates. Immediately after the English left the city, she was called upon by her friend, Col. Jack Stewart, of Maryland, who had exchanged his well-worn uniform of Valley Forge for a suit with a scarlet coat. Alluding to Miss Franks

dresses actually prepared, but at the last moment their father was visited by some of his friends, prominent members of the Society of Friends, who persuaded him that it would be by no means seemly that his daughters should appear in public in the Turkish dresses designed for the occasion. Consequently, although they are said to have been in a *dancing fury*, they were obliged to stay away. This same story has, I know, come down independently through several branches of the family, and was told me repeatedly, the last time not more than two years ago, by an old lady of the family, who was the niece of Mrs. Arnold and her sisters, and who has since died.

[1] This anecdote was told to the late John McAllister by the eye-witness.

having been one of the ladies of the Meschianza, he said: "I have adopted your colors, my Princess, the better to secure a kind reception; deign to smile on a true Knight." To this his Princess made no reply, but, turning to her companions, exclaimed: "How the ass glories in the lion's skin." On the same occasion the conversation of the company was interrupted by a commotion in the street. Upon looking out of the window they saw a figure in female attire, with ragged skirts and bare feet. She wore a headdress which was an exaggeration of the style then worn by the Tory belles. The unfortunate Colonel remarked that "the lady was equipped altogether in the English fashion." "Not altogether, Colonel," replied Miss Franks, "for, though the style of her head is British, her shoes and stockings are in the genuine Continental fashion." It was not, however, for those with whom she differed politically that she reserved her shafts. At a ball in New York, to which city she was obliged to retire, she was in conversation with Sir Henry Clinton, when that officer called to the musicians, "Give us Britons, strike home." "The Commander-in-chief has made a mistake," exclaimed Miss Franks, "he meant to say, Britons, go home."[1]

In 1780, David Franks and his daughter received a pass from the Executive Council of Pennsylvania to go to New York with a hint that compulsory measures would be adopted if they did not at once avail themselves of its use. Miss Franks subsequently became the wife of Col. Sir Henry Johnson of the British Army, and died in England.[2] When Gen. Winfield Scott visited Europe in 1816, he carried with him a letter of introduction to this ex-belle of Philadelphia. At that time she was in ill health, and confined to her chair. Her cheerfulness had not forsaken her, and she gratified Scott's

[1] *Anecdotes of the American Revolution*, Garden, vol. ii. p. 462. Brooklyn, 1865.

[2] This officer commanded Stony Point at the time it was captured by Wayne. Could Col. Jack Stewart, who led the Marylanders in that assault, have looked into the future, he would we think have felt a particular satisfaction in the capture of the chief officer of the Fort.

vanity by asking him if he was the young rebel who had taken the liberty to beat his Majesty's troops.[1]

The French Ambassador is thus spoken of by Gen. John Cadwalader, one of the anti-constitutionalists. He "is a polite gentleman, and well calculated for the present barbarism of the times. His knowledge of mankind makes him overlook, tho' I cannot help thinking he must see, some men and measures in their true colors."[2] "I should take him," said Pickering, "to be fifty years old. He has a fine piercing eye, and a most agreeable countenance. He speaks English tolerably."[3]

Among a host of other military men could have been seen the tall, ungainly figure, and sharp countenance of General Charles Lee, who was then paying his court to Congress, and endeavoring to convince the members that he had shown great merit at Monmouth. In one who had seen him on the day of that battle his excessive complaisance to his brother officers excited the suspicion that his manners were a mere cloak for less amiable sentiments, and the person wished that at that time he was "relating the battle of Monmouth in the other world," for he looked upon him as "a very hurtful man in this;"[4] and a very hurtful man he shortly tried to be, for, one fine morning in December, he and young John Laurens, Colonel on Washington's staff, and son of the President of Congress, exchanged shots at a convenient piece of wood near the four-mile stone on the old Point No Point Road; the meeting having been caused by some disrespectful expressions of Lee's regarding Washington.

Personal and political disputes of all kinds were rife at this time, and added to the excitement. Petitions to President Joseph Reed, and to the Supreme Executive Council, were circulated, and were signed by thousands, praying for the pardon of Carlisle and Roberts, who had been sentenced to death for aiding the British while in possession of the city.

[1] Scott's Autobiography, vol. i. p. 173.
[2] Cadwalader to Greene, Lee Papers, iii. p. 271.
[3] *Life of Timothy Pickering*, vol. i. p. 215.
[4] Col. Stewart to Wayne, Lee Papers, vol. iii. p. 272.

The execution of these men sent a thrill of horror through the community, and made the friends of William Hamilton, the owner of "The Woodlands," tremble for his fate, but after a trial of twelve hours he was acquitted. Another day, at the Coffee House, Gen. Wm. Thompson and Chief-Justice Thomas McKean came nearly to blows on account of the supposed opposition of the latter to the exchange of Thompson, who had been taken prisoner in Canada; and their friends feared a duel would be the result. On the 21st of July the newspapers were filled with the accounts of the proffered bribe of Commissioner Johnstone to Joseph Reed, of whom a Tory poet afterwards sung, and to be the objects of such shafts should be no shame:—

> Of deep resentments, wicked, bold,
> The thirst of Blood, of Power, of Gold
> Possess alternate sway;
> And Johnstone's bribe had surely won
> Rebellious pale-faced matchless son,
> Had mammon rul'd that day.[1]

About the middle of December Mrs. Washington arrived in town with the intention of joining the General, who had been ordered to wait on Congress to consult about the spring campaign. An entertainment was given to her on the 17th inst., at which the French Minister and the President of the State were present; and on this occasion the Whigs made a successful effort to exclude the Tory element. "The only public evidence of grace" we have had, says Dunlap's paper, "in that infatuated tribe [is that] not a Tory advocate, nor a quondam Whig interfered on this joyous occasion."[2] The French residents of the city also gave a ball to Mrs. Washington. It was no doubt on one of these occasions that Miss Franks tied a cockade, like those that were then worn in honor of the French alliance, to her dog's neck, and bribed a servant to turn it into the ball-room.[3]

[1] *Loyal Verses of Stansbury and Odell*, Sargent, p. 44.
[2] Westcott's Hist. of Phila., chap. 265.
[3] Scott's Autobiography, vol. i. p. 172.

At these gatherings could have been seen the wives and daughters of our citizens most active in the American cause. The names of the married ladies have alone been preserved, and in the list we find those of Mrs. Powell, Mrs. Robert Morris, Mrs. Francis, Mrs. Hillegas, Mrs. Reed, and Mrs. Bache, the daughter of Dr. Franklin, in whose letters to her father and husband, which I shall have occasion to quote, will be found pleasant passages regarding her little ones.

Washington did not arrive in the city until the 22d of the month. He was the guest of Henry Laurens, who had resigned the presidency of Congress ten days previously.

The Commander-in-Chief was obliged to play his part in the social circle; but it is evident, from his letters, how discordant it was to his feelings to do so under the circumstances, and with what forebodings he thought of the future while such influences surrounded the Congress. "If I were to be called upon," he writes to Col. Harrison, of Virginia, "to draw a picture of the times and of men, from what I have seen, heard, and in part know, I should in one word say, that idleness, dissipation, and extravagance seem to have laid fast hold of most of them. That speculation, peculation, and an insatiable thirst for riches seems to have got the best of every other consideration, and almost every order of men; that party disputes and personal quarrels are the great business of the day, whilst the momentous concerns of an empire, a great and accumulating debt, ruined finances, depreciated money, and want of credit, which in its consequences is the want of everything, are but secondary considerations, and postponed from day to day, from week to week, as if our affairs wore the most promising aspect . . . Our money is now sinking fifty per cent. a day in this city, and I shall not be surprised if, in the course of a few months, a total stop is put to the currency of it; and yet an assembly, a concert, a dinner, or a supper that will cost three or four hundred pounds, will not only take men off from acting in this business, but even from thinking of it; while a great part of the officers of our army, from absolute necessity, are quitting the service, and

the more virtuous few, rather than do this, are sinking by sure degrees into beggary and want."[1]

At the time Washington was writing thus, Edward Shippen, the father of the future Mrs. Arnold, wrote to a relative: "It is not very unlikely I shall find myself under the necessity of removing from this scene of expense . . . . The common articles of life, such as are absolutely necessary for a family, are not much higher here than at Lancaster, but the style of life my fashionable daughters have introduced into my family, and their dress, will, I fear, before long, oblige me to change the scene. The expense of supporting my family here will not fall short of four or five thousand pounds per annum, an expense unsupportable without business . . . I gave my daughter Betsy to Neddy Burd last Thursday evening, and all is jollity and mirth. My youngest daughter is much solicited by a certain General on the same subject.[2]

The anniversary of St. John the Evangelist was kept by the Masonic Brotherhood with more than usual ceremony. The newspapers of the day inform us that the officers of the Grand Lodge, with His Excellency, our illustrious brother, George Washington, Esquire, supported by the Grand Master and his Deputy, and followed by Brother Proctor's Band of Music and the Members of the different Lodges, marched in procession from the College in Fourth Street to Christ Church. The brethren took their seats in the pews of the middle aisle, which had been kept empty for their reception. Prayers were read by the Rev. William White, and an anthem was sung by the brethren. Our reverend and worthy brother, William Smith, D. D., preached an excellent and well-adapted sermon from Peter I., Chapter 2, verse 16. After service the procession returned to the College, the bells chiming, and the band playing proper Masonic tunes. "The brethren being all new clothed, and the officers in the proper jewels of their respective

[1] *Writings of Washington*, Sparks, vol. v. p. 151.

[2] *Letters and Papers Relating Chiefly to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania*, Balch, p. 268.

lodges, and other badges of dignity, made a genteel appearance."[1]

The letters from Mrs. Bache to her father, Dr. Franklin, who was then our Minister to France, give us a graphic picture of the times from a Whig point of view. "If I was to mention the prices of the common necessaries of life, it would astonish you," she writes. "I should tell you that I had seven table-cloths of my own spinning, chiefly wove before we left Chester County; it was what we were spinning when you went. I find them very useful, and they look very well, but they now ask four times as much for weaving as they used to ask for the linen. . . . I am going to write to cousin Jonathan Williams to purchase me linen for common sheets . . . they really ask me six dollars for a pair of gloves, and I have been obliged to pay fifteen pounds fifteen shillings for a common calamanco petticoat without quilting, that I once could have got for fifteen shillings. I buy nothing but what I really want, and wore out my silk ones before I got this."[2] In another letter she writes: "The present you sent me this month two years, I received a few weeks ago; 'tis a prize indeed. It came open, without direction or letter, and has come through three or four hands. I have received six pairs of gloves, nine papers of needles, a bundle of thread, and five papers of pins. . . . The last person to whose care they were given left them at a hair-dresser's, with directions not to send them to me till he was gone. Their being all opened makes me suspect I have not all; what I have received makes me rich. I thought them long ago in the enemies' hands. The prices of everything here are so much raised that it takes a fortune to feed a family in a very plain way: a pair of gloves 7 dollars, one yard of common gauze 24 dollars, and there never was so much dressing and pleasure going on; old friends meeting again, the Whigs in high spirits, and strangers of distinction among us." . . .

[1] *Moore's Diary of the American Revolution*, vol. ii. pp. 113–15.

[2] *Letters to Benjamin Franklin from his Family and Friends*, 1751–1790, pp. 85, 86, N. Y. 1859.

The next passage gives us an idea of the measures a minister plenipotentiary to a new country should take to insure the popularity of the nation he represents: "The Minister was kind enough to offer me some fine white flannel, and has spared me eight yards. I wish to have it in my power to return him as good, which I will beg you will enable me to do. I shall have great pride in wearing any thing you send, and showing it as my father's taste.

"I have dined at the Minister's . . . and have lately been several times invited abroad with the General and Mrs. Washington. He always inquires after you in the most affectionate manner, and speaks of you highly. We danced at Mrs. Powell's your birthday, or night I should say, in company together, and he told me it was the anniversary of his marriage; it was just twenty years that night.

"My boy and girl are in health. The latter has ten teeth, can dance, sing, and make faces, tho' she cannot talk, except the words *no* and *be done*, which she makes great use of."[1]

Franklin did not approve of the dissipations of which his daughter wrote, mild as they were in comparison with those in which other of our citizens indulged, and replied: "I was charmed with the account you gave me of your industry, the table-cloths of your own spinning, etc.; but the latter part of the paragraph, that you had sent for linen from France because weaving and flax were grown dear, alas! that dissolved the charm; and your sending for long black pins, and lace and *feathers!* disgusted me as much as if you had put salt into my strawberries. The spinning, I see, is laid aside, and you are to be dressed for the ball! You seem not to know, my dear daughter, that of all the dear things in this world idleness is the dearest, except mischief. . . . When I began to read your account of the high prices of goods . . . . I expected you would conclude with telling me, that everybody as well as yourself was grown frugal and industrious; and I could scarce believe my eyes, in reading forward, 'that there

[1] *Letters to Benjamin Franklin from his Family and Friends*, 1751–1790, pp. 91, 92, N. Y. 1859.

never was so much pleasure and dressing going on;' and that you yourself wanted black pins and feathers from France to appear, I suppose, in the mode! This leads me to imagine, that perhaps it is not so much that the goods are grown dear as that the money is grown cheap, as everything else will do when excessively plenty; and that people are still as easy nearly in their circumstances as when gloves might be had for half a crown. The war, indeed, may in some degree raise the price of goods, and the high taxes which are necessary to support the war may make our frugality necessary; and, as I am always preaching that doctrine, I cannot in conscience or in decency encourage the contrary by my example, in furnishing my children with foolish modes and luxuries. I, therefore, send all the articles you desire that are useful and necessary, and omit the rest; for, as you say, you should 'have great pride in wearing anything I send, and showing it as your father's taste,' I must avoid giving you an opportunity of doing that with either lace or feathers. If you wear your cambric ruffles as I do, and take care not to mend the holes, they will come in time to be lace; and feathers, my dear girl, they may be had in America from every cock's tail."[1]

In answer to this Mrs. Bache wrote: "How could my dear papa give me so severe a reprimand for wishing a little finery? He would not, I am sure, if he knew how much I have felt it. Last winter was a season of triumph to the Whigs, and they spent it gaily. You would not have had me, I am sure, stay away from . . . Gerard's entertainments, nor when I was invited to spend the day with General Washington and his lady; and you would have been the last person, I am sure, to have wished to have seen me dressed with singularity. Though I never loved dress so much as to wish to be particularly fine, yet I never will go out when I cannot appear so as to do credit to my family and my husband. . . . I can assure my dear papa that industry in this house is by no means laid aside; but as to spinning linen we cannot think of that till we have got that wove which we spun three years ago.

[1] *Works of Franklin*, Sparks, vol. viii. p. 374.

. . . I only mention these things that you may see that the balls are not the only reason the wheel is laid aside. I did not mention the feathers and pins as necessaries of life, as my papa seems to think. I meant as common necessaries were so dear, I could not afford to get anything that was not, and begged he would send me a few of the others. Nor should I have had such wishes, but being in constant hope that things would soon return to their former channel, I kept up my spirits, and wished to mix with the world; but that hope with me is now entirely over, and this winter approaches with so many horrors that I shall not want anything to go abroad in, if I can be comfortable at home. My spirits, which I have kept up during my being drove about from place to place, much better than most people's I have met with, have been lowered by nothing but the depreciation of the money, which has been amazing lately, so that home will be the place for me this winter, as I cannot get a common winter cloak and hat, but just decent, under two hundred pounds. As to gauze, now it is fifty dollars a yard 'tis beyond my wish, and I should think it not only a shame, but a sin, to buy it if I had millions. I should be contented with muslin caps if I could procure them in the winter; in the summer I went without; and as to cambric I have none to make lace of." [1]

In January, '79, troubles began to brew. A riot was threatened by some sailors who complained of their low wages being paid in paper money. They paraded the streets armed with clubs, and behaved in a boisterous manner, but no serious result occurred, and it had no effect on the community.

"Luxury and dissipation," wrote Greene from camp on the 9th of February, after visiting Philadelphia, "are very prevalent. These are the common offsprings of sudden riches. When I was in Boston last summer, I thought luxury very predominant there; but they are no more to compare with those now prevailing in Philadelphia than an infant babe to a

[1] *Letters to Benjamin Franklin from Family and Friends*, 1751–1790, pp. 106–7–8.

full-grown man. I dined at one table where there were an hundred and sixty dishes."[1]

Good-natured, stout Gen. Knox could not find it in his heart to say aught against the luxuries, and only records: "The girls are the same everywhere—at least some of them, they love a red coat dearly."[2]

It would almost seem as if Knox had met the sprightly Miss Amile (afterwards the wife of Major Armstrong of the British Army), who, in the spring of '79, wrote to her friend Polly Riché: "You have touch'd me in a tender point in regard to one part of your letter, which says: 'times are strangely altered; gallanted by a Continental officer,' &c. &c. *Alter as they may*, I remain the same; but what are we girls to do? You know, bad as the currency is, there is no other passing just now. You don't meet with a piece of gold once in an age, tho' it seems you prefer an American soldier to a British one; well, there is no accounting for taste."[3]

"The extravagant luxury of our country in the midst of all its distresses, is to me amazing," wrote Franklin in October, '79. "When the difficulties are so great to find remittances to pay for the arms and ammunition necessary for our defence, I am astonished and vexed to find, upon inquiry, that much the greatest part of the Congress interest bills come to pay for tea, and a great part of the remainder is ordered to be laid out in gewgaws and superfluities."[4]

A writer of American history, in a review of the finances of the Revolution, says of this period: "Meanwhile, speculation ran riot. Every form of wastefulness and extravagance prevailed in town and country; nowhere more than in Philadelphia under the very eye of Congress; luxury of dress, luxury of equipage, luxury of the table. We are told of one entertainment at which eight hundred pounds were spent in pastry. As I read the private letters of those days, I sometimes feel as a man might feel if permitted to look down

[1] *Life of Nathaniel Greene.* By G. W. Greene, vol. ii. p. 168.
[2] *Life of Henry Knox.* By Francis S. Drake, p. 60, Boston, 1873.
[3] MS. letter in the possession of Mr. Charles Riché Hildeburn.
[4] Sparks's *Works of Franklin*, vol. viii. p. 393.

upon a foundering ship, whose crew were preparing for death by breaking open the steward's room and drinking themselves into madness."[1]

In the middle of February a visitor came to the city who was no stranger to its streets. A cloud may have rested on the name of Wayne at the time of the surprise at Paoli; but, since then, he had been acquitted by his brother officers of all blame in the matter. The brilliant achievement which has associated his name forever with Stony Point had not then occurred. He had, however, saved the day at Monmouth where he had held the hedge-row against Monckton and his grenadiers, and was then rejoicing in the confirmation of Lee's sentence, against whom he and General Charles Scott had preferred the charges. He, no doubt, wore his laurels as if he felt that they were well earned, and was the man to have sung, with the spirit of true feeling, Wolf's soldier song:—

Why, soldiers, why,
Should we be melancholy, boys?
Why, soldiers, why,
Whose business 'tis to die?
For should the next campaign
Send us to Him who made us, boys,
We're free from pain;
But, should we remain,
A bottle and kind landlady
Makes all well again.

While living at camp, a brother officer had written to Wayne from Philadelphia: "Permit me now to say a little of the dress, manners, and customs of the town's people. In respect to the first, great alterations have taken place since I was last here. It is all gayety, and, from what I can observe, every lady and gentleman endeavors to outdo the other in splendor and show. The manners of the ladies are much changed; they have really, in a great measure, lost that native innocence in their manners, which formerly was their characteristic, and supplied its place with what

[1] *Historical view of the American Revolution.* By George Washington Greene, p. 160.

they call an easy behavior. The manner of entertaining, in this place, has likewise undergone its change. You cannot conceive anything more elegant than the present taste. You will hardly dine at a table but they present you with three courses, and each of them in the most elegant manner."[1]

And now Wayne had come to enjoy these pleasures, and wrote to Col. Hartley: "I must do the citizens the justice to say, that they have honored me with every attention, and treated me with every possible politeness. You know that I have a fondness for ladies' society; yet, excepting the few days which I spent with my family in Chester County, I have not been at a single tea-party since I left the army. I have many cards of invitation, and mean to avail myself of them. This is an indulgence which I have some right to claim, having been sequestered nearly four years from the society of the fair, and the next fair bullet may make my quietus."[2]

But we must turn from these scenes, which, John Laurens tells us, "flourished in every town on the continent, as it would amongst a people who had conquered the world, and were about to pay for their victories by their decline."[3]

Washington, a few days after his return to camp, wrote to President Reed, asking that no more passes should be granted for persons to visit their friends, prisoners, at New York; as he had good reason to suspect that the real object of many, and of the women in particular, was to bring out goods to trade with.[4]

Arnold's influence had also gone. His quarrel with the authorities of Pennsylvania had resulted in an order for his trial by court-martial. Mortified at this, he resigned the command of the city on the 18th of March. This did not interfere with his engagement with Miss Shippen; and they were married in the following month.

During the spring of 1779 the paper money had been falling lower and lower. One hundred and fifty millions of

[1] *Moore's Life of Wayne*, p. 81.
[2] Ibid. p. 82.
[3] *Life of Nathaniel Greene.* By G. W. Greene, vol. ii. p. 169, note.
[4] Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, vol. vi. p. 174.

dollars were issued in the year 1779, only a small portion of which was used for the redemption of old notes. In May of the same year, Christopher Marshall recorded that butter sold in the market at from two to three dollars a pound. Flour at 20 pounds the hundred weight. Green peas from 20 to 25 shillings the half-peck. In June he paid 50 dollars for two pairs of shoes, and 80 dollars for two silk handkerchiefs. Nor was he an extravagant man, for, early in the year, Samuel Adams was asked 400 dollars for a hat, 300 for a pair of leather breeches, 125 for a pair of shoes, and for a suit of clothes 1600 dollars. Disciples of Isaac Walton gave half a dollar a piece for their fish-hooks. "I was almost deterred from buying any," wrote William Livingston to Anthony Bleecker, "but that I thought you and the other gentlemen fishers would not choose to be totally debarred from the sport for the sake of a few dollars, especially as you can sell your trout at a proportionable advance."[1]

Timothy Pickering, Secretary of the Board of War, informed Congress that it would be impossible for him to live on his salary of $14,000; that the very indifferent house he occupied cost him $4000 per year; and that he must have some new clothing, inasmuch as his old was already worn on both sides.[2]

The "United States Magazine," the first number of which was issued in January, was published on the following terms: "To the adventitious purchaser of a single copy $3. To the subscriber $24 per annum." One would think that at such rates it was sure of success; but the publisher reserved the right to advance the price with that of articles in general. As some of us are interested in Magazines, we cannot help glancing at this apparently high-priced specimen—representing, as it does, the literary taste of Philadelphia at that day. It is an octavo of 48 pages. In the first number is a Birthday Ode to the publication, in which we read:—

[1] *Life of William Livingston*, Sedgwick, p. 328.
[2] *Life of Pickering*, vol. i. p. 244.

"Let me hail thee to the day
With thy natal honors gay."

"Hear in wildwood notes with me,
What the world prepares for thee.
Statesmen of assembly great,
Soldiers that on danger wait,
Farmers that subdue the plains,
Merchants that attempt the main,
Tradesmen who their labors ply;
These shall court thy company,
These shall say with placid mien
Have you read the Magazine?

"Maids of Virgin beauty fair;
Widows gay and debonair;
Matrons of a graver age;
Wives whom household cares engage;
These shall hear of thee, and learn
To esteem thee more than Sterne;
These shall say, when thou art seen,
Oh! enchanting Magazine!"

But this cordial greeting was not sufficient to save the life of the publication, and it ceased when the first volume was completed. We turn over and over its pages in the hopes of finding something worthy of note; but, with the exception of the lines quoted, in which its own trumpet is blown, and of information which time has made valuable, there is nothing of interest except a poetical address to a young lady, from the first lines of which we can see how many of her descendants we have with us to-night:—

"Fine shape, fair skin, good features, and an eye
That sparkles love and sense and sweet vivacity."

There are the usual number of articles signed by Sylvus, Sidney, and Amelia. There is the Rebus on an Amiable Young Lady; and "The friendly Advice in Solitude," by a young lady of thirteen. There is a pretended Soliloquy of George the Third, in language so strong that we will not repeat it; but it must have made the King tremble when, in Windsor Castle, he was made aware of the opinions his late

subjects entertained of him; and he doubtless echoed the last lines of the piece,—

> "Oh, let the earth my rugged fate bemoan,
> And give at least one sympathizing groan."

How Cornwallis survived the satire of the "Cornwalliad" is hard to understand, I know you would not, if I should read it to you.

There is one article in it to which I would not allude, were it not that it is more germane to my subject than any other it contains. It purports to be a letter from a gentleman in the country to his sister, who has taken up her residence in the city. The brother addresses her as his "charming sister," who possesses "that sweet timidity, that charming delicacy, that enchanting bashfulness, that artless blushing modesty, which shrinks from the most distant approach of everything rude." Poor blushing, timid creature, what must her feelings have been when she learned from her brother's letter, that there were possibly some ladies in the fashionable society of Philadelphia, who had suffered themselves to be kissed? I fear that there was some truth in the rumor, as Mrs. Bache wrote to her father: "I would give a good deal if you could see" my little girl, "you can't think how fond of kissing she is, and she gives such old-fashioned smacks. General Arnold says he would give a good deal to have her for a schoolmistress to teach the young ladies how to kiss;"[1] and what should he have known about such matters, unless, indeed, it was Miss Peggy's education which had been neglected? Of other dangers to which this fair novice would be exposed I cannot speak, but I would rather think that her brother was a violent Whig, who thought all Philadelphia society composed of Tories, in whom there could be no good, than accept as a faithful picture the one he drew for his sister's admonition. For if there were any truth in it, the morals as well as the manners of Philadelphia had been influenced by the French Alliance.

I think the Editor of the Magazine must have had some

[1] *Letters to Franklin from Family and Friends*, p. 84.

misgivings as to the attractiveness of his material, for he suggests to his correspondents that some of them, some Whig poet, should select for his theme the confusion caused by the several inroads of the enemy. Should show how the ladies of the city, driven to the country, were transformed into nymphs and goddesses, and wandered in sylvan shades; and that the cities should cry out for their return, and that the country should tell them to rest contented with their Tory maidens. What could have been more charming? I wonder what "Harper" or "Scribner" would pay for such a production? Would it be possible for anything to be more stupid? Can it be that a taste for such literature will return with that for tiles and brass candlesticks?

But a truce to this, or you will wish to hear, in the language of modern advertisements, that, "the conclusion of this interesting paper will be found in the next number of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE;" and I cannot stop yet, as we have eaten our cake, and must not turn from the dry crusts.

As the paper money had fallen by degrees, it was proposed to restore its value in like manner. The prices of the necessaries of life were to be fixed by a local committee, and posted around the city, and these were to be reduced every few weeks until an equitable basis was gained. A town meeting was called for the 25th of May, to take the vote of the people on this expedient. Papers were circulated pledging the signers of them to any measures Congress might adopt to restore its credit. On the 24th, the militia, 3000 strong, paraded the streets to awaken enthusiasm. On the day of the meeting, Mrs. Bache wrote to her husband: "There was a printed paper pasted up yesterday, the copy of which I send you. You may remember the German . . . in old Wistar's store. He is, they say, a great speculator. Attempting to pull one of the papers down, the mob (I should not call them by that name), the militia, seized him, and after taking him about on a horse, bareheaded, lodged him in the Old Gaol. They took up several others and put them in the same place. If I can get their names I will send them. I should mention that no one of the others had the honor of riding. . . . This day

has been very quiet. The militia kept guard last night. There is to be a Town meeting this afternoon; the militia from Germantown came in this morning to go to it. I should have begun by telling you that as soon as the bad news came from Virginia [the invasion by the British], they raised the prices of everything. . . . You can't think how much worse the money is since you left this, fifty pounds a hundred. Many families yesterday went without bread; not a bit to be bought. I hope the regulation will have a good effect, but cannot help feeling a little frightened about it; for, since I have begun to write, there is nothing but Huzza constantly at the Gaol, and they have just put three in since I turned this leaf over. One was a Mr. Lilly, for purchasing hard money; and Kercher, the Butcher; the other I don't know. Bryson just called at the window to tell me their names. He knows none of those yesterday but Robt. Watt, Richard Mason, Sichl the Butcher, and a Mr. Bachelor, whom every one took for Wistar's man, as he looked so very like him. Mr. Morris is much talked of; it has made me quite uneasy; but, as it is now said he will be first called on, I hope this is only talk. I seem afraid of joining him even in thought with these men."

From this scene of excitement she turns, and gives a charming picture of a child's innocent delight in the midst of trial: "Your babies are quite well. Bet. delighted with a new bonnet Unkle Franklin [sent] her, and talks of it in her sleep."[1]

The meeting was held in the State-house yard. The chairman was Daniel Roberdeau, and the proceedings were of the most exciting character. Of the resolutions which were declared adopted, the plan of restoring the value of money was a part; and "Robert Morris was pointed out by name, as the ostensible actor in bringing about the recent rise in prices; and it was ordered that a committee should investigate his conduct."[2] The most graphic account we have of this meeting is in the "clever, but bitter satire" of Joseph Stansbury, a

[1] Manuscript letter in possession of William Duane, Esq.

[2] *Loyal verses of Stansbury and Odell.* Edited by Winthrop Sargent. p. 152. For proceedings of the meeting see *Penna. Packet*, May 27, 1779.

Philadelphia Loyalist. We have room for only three of its stanzas:—

And now the State House yard was full,
And Orators, so grave, so dull,
Appeared upon the stage.
But all was riot, noise, disgrace,
And freedom's sons thro' all the place
In bloody frays engage.

Sagacious Matlack strove in vain
To pour his sense in Dutchmen's brain:
With every art to please
Observed, "that as their Money fell,
Like Lucifer, to lowest Hell,
Tho' swift yet by degrees,

"So should it rise, and goods should fall,
Month after month, and one and all
Would buy as cheap as ever;
That they lost all who grasp'd too much"
(This Col. Bull explained in Dutch),
But fruitless each endeavor.

A committee was appointed to carry the resolutions of the meeting into effect, and it adjourned until the 25th of June. In that month a lower scale of prices was decided upon. In vain did eighty merchants, who avowed that, since the days of the Stamp Act, they had been steady and decided Whigs, protest against the regulations.[1] A company of militia had assured the committee that, should they find themselves unequal to their task, their "drum should beat to arms."[2] Robert Morris proved to those who waited on him that the large purchase of flour he had made was to supply the French fleet; and that the choice of the goods consigned to him had been offered to the authorities at but a small advance.[3] He was told that he should have bought no more than he absolutely required. In vain did such a man as John Cadwalader explain that he had no personal interest in opposing the regulations but for the public good; that he was a private citizen, living on the interest of his estate; and that the regulations proposed could

[1] *Penna. Packet*, Sept. 10. 1779.
[2] *Ibid.* July 1, 1779.
[3] *Ibid.* July 14 and 24, 1779.

not affect him. He was driven from the meeting at which he attempted to speak.[1] In vain did one of the ablest financial writers of the day point out that the danger of the hour did not arise from "poverty or want;" for they had "officers and soldiers enough, stores of every kind enough; zeal, union, and virtue sufficient to secure success."[2] That all that was wanted to support the cause had been furnished by the thirteen States since the beginning of the war.[3] "That the riches of a nation do not consist in the abundance of money, but in the number of its people, in supplies and resources, . . . in good laws, good public officers, in virtuous citizens, in strength and concord, in wise counsels, and in manly force."[4] And that the only way to restore the credit of Congress was by the reduction of the amount of the circulating medium, and the collection of taxes. The answer to such arguments was that the names of those who refused to support the regulations proposed by the committee should be published as enemies to their country.[5]

But it must not be thought that this honest, but intemperate zeal to preserve the credit of the paper money was confined to unthinking men, or was altogether the work of the mob. The address of Congress to the people proposed but half-way measures, and was full of delusive hopes: while Washington's letters bear ample testimony of his opinions of forestallers and extortioners, and of his desire that some measures should be taken for their punishment. Nor had the

[1] *Penna. Packet*, July 31, 1779.

[2] *Political Essays.* By Pelatiah Webster, p. 19. [3] *Ibid.* p. 42.

[4] This extract is from the second Essay on Free Trade and Finance by Pelatiah Webster. First printed August, 1779. In Feb. 1780, Webster wrote: "I am determined to leave a copy of my Essays with my children, that my posterity may know that in 1780 there was, at least, *one citizen* of Philadelphia who was not totally distracted, and that they may have the honor and consolation of being descended from a man, who was able to keep *in his senses* in times of the greatest *infatuation.*" In Dec. 1780, he wrote: "It is no more absurd to attempt to *impel faith* into the heart of an unbeliever by *fire* and *faggot*, or to *whip* love into your mistress with a *cowskin*, than to force value or credit into your money by *penal laws.*"—(See *Strictures on the Tender Acts.*)

[5] *Penna. Packet*, Aug. 17, 1779.

country at large been so fortunate as to escape from the inevitable consequences, whether in time of peace or of war, of the presence of a standing army. The people felt aggrieved at the bearing of the officers with whom they were daily brought in contact; and it would almost seem as if dishonesty had reached some departments of the army. "I am told," wrote Pelatiah Webster at the close of the year, "that there are nine thousand rations issued daily in this city, where there is not the least appearance of any military movements except a few invalids and sick in the hospitals, and the prisoners, all of which do not amount to one-half that number of rations." "There are posts of commissioners, quartermasters, purchasers, etc., fixed at about ten or fifteen miles distant through this State . . . and the people out of doors cannot . . . conceive the . . . use of these multiplied offices, of so many different names, that one has need of a dictionary to understand them." "I wish," he continues, "that they were struck off the list at one dash of the pen, that their rations and clothing might be stopped, and sent for the use of our soldiers in the real service . . . and that their horses might be taken away from them, that they might not be able to parade it through the country on horseback, or in carriages, as they do now, with a gayety of dress, importance of air, and grandeur of equipage, very chagrining to the impoverished inhabitants who maintain them."[1]

In this condition of affairs the Whigs were less tolerant than ever in their dealings with the Tories, who acted with but little discretion. The Grand Jury, on the 10th of June, presented it as a grievance of a very dangerous character, that the wives of so many of the British Emissaries should remain in the city.[2] In August, a violent communication was printed in the "Pennsylvania Packet," in which questions were asked as to the origin of nearly every misfortune which had befallen the Continental cause since the beginning of the war, and to all were appended the same answer: The Tories! The Tories!

[1] Webster's *Political Essays*, p. 70–1.
[2] Reed's *Life of Reed*, vol. ii. p. 147.

The Tories! "Drive from you every baneful wretch who wishes to see you fettered with the chains of tyranny," continues the same article. "Send them where they may enjoy their beloved slavery to perfection. Send them to the island of Britain; there let them eat the bread of bitterness all the days of their existence. . . . Banishment, perpetual banishment, should be their lot."[1] "I know," wrote Governor William Livingston, of New Jersey, the same month to his daughter, who was then in our city, "that there are a number of flirts in Philadelphia, equally famed for their want of modesty as want of patriotism, who will triumph in our over complaisance to the red-coated prisoners lately arrived in that Metropolis. I hope none of my connections will imitate them, either in the dress of their heads, or in the still more Tory feelings of their hearts."[2]

And so the summer of '79 passed away in a feverish state of excitement, and the autumn opened with but little promise of relief. The money was no better, and the regulations had driven merchandise and provisions to other markets. The people were dissatisfied, but could not fathom the cause of the trouble.

In the latter part of September the militia of the city determined to enforce the views of the committee and of the Grand Jury. They had been so often called upon during the war to assist in the adoption of revolutionary measures, that they had become imbued with the idea that all difficulties could be overcome by "a determined band,"[3] and that the end which they had in view would justify any means they might employ. They resolved to send from the city the wives and children of those who had gone with the British, or were within the British lines. The yearly meeting of Friends was then in session, and as that Society was looked upon with distrust by the Whigs, it was proposed to make an example of some of its leading members; it was also given out that monopolizers and forestallers would be dealt with. A mem-

[1] *Diary of American Revolution*, F. Moore. Vol. ii. p. 166.
[2] *Life of Livingston*, Sedgwick, p. 337.
[3] Reed's *Life of Reed*, vol. ii. p. 424.

[illegible]

ber from each militia company was selected to see to the arrest of the Tories. When the personal danger, that in case of failure would result to the leaders in these movements, was pointed out, the reply was that: "Washington could not take his command without running some risk, and that they in this undertaking would sacrifice their lives, or effect it."[1]

A truce of a few days followed these preparations. A meeting of the militia was called for the 4th of October, and, on the morning of that day, it was found that placards had been posted around the city, during the night previous, threatening Robert Morris and a number of other citizens.[2] One of this number was the Hon. James Wilson, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. He had been an early and earnest advocate of the cause of the Colonies, and while in Congress, in 1776, had the resolution to change his vote from the negative to the affirmative on the question of Independence, when doing so determined the vote of Pennsylvania. He was, however, in State politics, an anti-constitutionalist, and in addition to this had successfully defended a number of Tories in trials for treason. He was in consequence bitterly hated. His friends, alarmed for his safety, gathered at the City Tavern on the west side of Second Street above Walnut, and sent word to the President of the State of the danger they apprehended. The Troop of City Cavalry, loyal then, as they ever have been since, to the cause of order, rendezvoused at their stable with the intention of doing all that was in their power to prevent violence.[3]

While this was going on in the city, the members of the militia companies, without their officers, were gathering on the commons near Tenth and Vine Streets. Dr. James Hutchinson, Charles Wilson Peale, and others who had been active in the town meeting of May, endeavored to persuade them to disperse; but, meeting with no success, retired.[4] A large

[1] Reed's *Life of Reed*, vol. ii. p. 424.

[2] Westcott's *Hist. of Phila.*, chap. cclxx.

[3] *History of First Troop Phila. City Cavalry*, p. 18.

[4] The following description of the riot which occurred on the 4th of Oct. '79. is chiefly drawn from the accounts of McLane, Hagner, and Peale, given in Reed's *Life of Reed*, vol. ii.

mob had gathered with the militia. Squads were sent into the city to arrest such persons as it had been decided should be taken into custody. One of the parties visited the Friends' meeting on Pine Street below Second, and, as the members were leaving the house, seized John Drinker, the clerk of the "Meeting of Sufferings," and bore him to the commons. Search was made for other persons, and three were arrested, but with so little noise that the citizens generally were not aware of the fact. The morning passed quietly away, and it appeared as if no serious result would occur. As noon approached some of the Troop returned to their homes. At about this hour the mob and its prisoners moved towards the built-up portion of the town. The militia were about two hundred in number, and bore arms. They were commanded by Mills, a militia captain from North Carolina; Faulkner, a ship carpenter; Pickering, a tailor, and one Bonham. With fife and drum they marched down Arch Street to Front, and along Front to Chestnut; and citizens came out of their houses and followed in their wake to see the result. For a few moments the motley crowd halted, and then moved up Chestnut Street and turned down Second. Here they saw the gathering at the City Tavern, and gave three cheers. The friends of Wilson retired up Walnut Street, and entered his house at the southwest corner of Third. Two of them hurried to the arsenal at Carpenter's Hall, and filling their pockets with cartridges, rejoined their companions.[1] When the mob came in front of the City Tavern they halted, supposing that Wilson and his friends were within. The mistake was soon discovered, and directly the sound of the fife and drum was again heard by those at Third and Walnut. The next minute the head files of the militia turned into Walnut Street. Colonel Grayson and Captain Allen McLane, who were at the War Office above Third, hurried to meet them, and, halting the column, endeavored to persuade Faulkner to lead his men up Dock Street, and thus avoid passing Wilson's house, which, Faulkner said, they had no intention of attack-

[1] Watson's *Annals of Phila.* vol. i. p. 425.

ing. Pickering and Bonham came running to the front, and inquired the cause of the halt. They ordered Faulkner to march the men up Walnut, and with fixed bayonets threatened Grayson, McLane, and others who attempted to interfere. The press was so great that it was with difficulty that Grayson and McLane could keep their feet, and they were crowded among the citizen prisoners. As the mob moved up Walnut Street, anxious faces peered from the windows, and women fainted as they recognized their husbands and friends among the prisoners. Within Wilson's house at this time were about thirty or forty persons, a number of whom had been marked by the mob. With them were Generals Mifflin, Nicola, and Thompson, Col. Chambers, and a Capt. Campbell of the invalid corps, who had lost an arm in the service. With cheers and shouts the mob marched by the house. They had almost passed, when Campbell appeared at an upper window and waving a pistol in his hand, ordered them to march on. The pistol was unfortunately discharged. The shot was returned by a volley from the mob, and poor Campbell fell mortally wounded. Several muskets were fired from the house, and the crowd in the street scattered, leaving those who had been arrested exposed to danger from both parties. Grayson and McLane ran into Wilson's garden, but there found the peril greater than before. They were recognized by Mifflin as army officers, and the door of the house was opened for their admission. At the same time some of those who were in the house jumped from the windows and sought places of safety. Third Street was then clear of people as far up as Dock, where the mob had dragged a cannon. In a few moments "a number of desperate-looking men, in their shirt sleeves, came out of Pear Street." They were armed with bars of iron and large hammers, which they had obtained from a smith shop. They soon reached the house, and began to force the doors and windows. Gen. Mifflin attempted to harangue the mob from a window on Third Street, but was fired at by a man who supposed he was a Tory. The shot struck the sash near the General's body, and he immediately discharged his pistols at the rioters. The firing against the house was now inces-

sant, but the musket balls which rattled against its sides made no impression on the stone walls, while those aimed higher struck the sloping roof covered with copper, and glanced harmlessly into the air. The sound was one never to be forgotten by those who heard it, and a child[1] born in the neighborhood dated his earliest recollections seventy-five years afterwards from the firing on Wilson's house. The door of the house was soon forced. As the mob rushed in, "they received a fire from the staircases and cellar windows which dropped several of them." They succeeded, however, in pulling Col. Chambers out of the house, and wounding him with bayonets. He was rescued by some friends, and was carried down Third Street. The door was again closed, and barricaded with tables and chairs, and the siege was about to be renewed. At this critical moment President Reed rode rapidly down Third Street, accompanied by two of Baylor's dragoons. They were soon followed by a small detachment of the Troop, which had hastily assembled, under Major Lenox. When the cry of "the horse! the horse!" was raised, the rioters, ignorant of the number, fled in all directions, but not before two other detachments of the Troop had reached the scene. The best possible use was made of the diversion which had been created. Wilson and his friends sallied out, and a number of persons were seized and hurried to the prison. President Reed and a number of the Troopers then rode up Third Street, and at the corner of Market intercepted a party of the rioters, who had with them a brass field-piece, and who were bent on reinforcing their friends. A number of them were taken and placed in the old gaol which stood near by, and the cannon was dragged away.[2] Quiet was thus restored, but the Troop patroled the streets for the remainder of the day, and all of the night following.

The next morning a meeting was held at the State House.

[1] Richard Willing who was b. at the corner of Willing's Alley and Third Street.

[2] Westcott's *History of Phila.*, note to chap. cclxx.

It was composed of the principal citizens, a number of the clergy being present, and everything was done to allay the excitement. The militia assembled with the intention of releasing their companions who had been arrested. They were persuaded to desist from violence, and during the day nearly all their number who had taken part in the riot were liberated on bail. Mr. Wilson and his friends were also held in bail, and for a short time absented themselves from the city. Proceedings were not pressed against either party, and in less than a year a general pardon was granted to all. Three lives were lost in the riot, and with this tragedy ended the most serious outbreak of passion in any way caused by the depreciation of Continental money.

Insignificant as the affair may now appear, the alarm which it excited at the time spread over the continent as far as Boston.[1] Enacted wellnigh in the presence of Congress, and in a mistaken zeal to serve its purposes, it was almost national in its character, and, had it not been quelled, its example would have been disastrous.

Happy was it for America that day, that the tyranny against which she rebelled was not one in which, for long years, oppressed and oppressors had been brought face to face. Her sons had gathered from their widely-scattered homes, in which rank was unknown, at the first attempt to abridge that liberty which they had learned to believe the privations of their ancestors had made their birthright. And if, in the first attempts to use the power they had usurped, they showed themselves impatient to solve by force those questions which remain unsettled to-day, certain it is, they possessed little of that spirit which, the next year, under the convenient cry of "No Popery," made the citizens of London tremble; which fired four of her prisons, and liberated their inmates; that set six and thirty of her dwellings ablaze at once; and which

[1] "In Boston we are much alarmed by the last accounts from Philadelphia. Some are not a little apprehensive that a like tragedy may be acted upon this stage."—*Life of Pickering*, vol. i. p. 242.

was not subdued until two hundred and fifty persons had been shot to death, and until as many more had been sent wounded to the hospitals. Nor had the scholars on this side of the Atlantic lapsed into that state of sentimentality that they required the visible sign of Voltaire and Franklin, kissing in the presence of the French Academy, to tell them "that the war for American Independence was a war for the freedom of mind." Such scenes give zest to the pages of fiction, and coloring to those of history; but well is it for the people from whose annals they are spared.

The hour of weakness which I have tried to describe to you was followed by a season of depression and care; but out of its darkness was born that love of order, that self-control, that spirit of government which in eight years took form in the Federal Constitution.

THE FOUNDING OF NEW SWEDEN, 1637–1642.

BY PROFESSOR C. T. ODHNER,
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LUND.

TRANSLATED BY PROFESSOR G. B. KEEN.

(Concluded from page 284.)

Minuit's death was an irreparable loss for the newly-formed company, since it was not easy to meet with as clever a man as the late commander, or one so familiar with American affairs. Nevertheless, regarded from the Swedish point of view, perhaps the event was not greatly to be lamented. That is to say, probably the colonization scheme would never have acquired so national a complexion, if he had remained the leader in it. Blommaert,[1] at least, declares it was the Governor's intention to settle New Sweden with people from his native war-wasted land of Cleves; and it is likely so strong a man as Minuit seems to have been, particularly if he colonized the territory with fellow-countrymen, might have assumed a more independent attitude than would have been compatible with the interests of Sweden.

With reference to the prosecution of the enterprise, thus auspiciously begun, the Swedish partners in the company were from the first agreed; they viewed the question under its national and political aspect, and conceived the great importance the colony might, in such relations, eventually possess. For the future Clas Fleming became special leader of the work in Sweden, a position which he, by this time, likewise held in virtue of his office as President of the College of Commerce, conferred upon him in November, 1637. He and his Secretary in the College, Johan Beyer,[2] henceforth evinced

[1] Blommaert to the chancellor, November 13, 1638.

[2] This man was the only paid functionary of the college. When Beyer became postmaster-general in 1642, and Fleming died in 1644, the college was entirely dissolved; in 1651 first begins its existence as a fully-organized authority.

great interest in the young Swedish colony, which may even be said to have been the first and principal work of that body. Their earliest care was to provide a successor for Minuit, and such a person, Fleming believed, was found in the Dutch captain, Cornelis van Vliet, who had been engaged for several years in the Swedish service. It is said in this man's commission from the Admiralty, written in Dutch, and dated at Vesterås, January 26, 1639,[1] that Her Majesty, Queen Christina, had resolved not only to support, but also energetically to prosecute, the expedition to "the Indies," and, full information of the nature of that region not having as yet been furnished, (Minuit not having had time to compose a regular account of his journey,) it was the Royal pleasure that v. Vliet should set out on the *Kalmar Nyckel* for "Virginia," and the territory which had been taken possession of in the King's name by Minuit, and there gain accurate acquaintance with the condition of the country and its inhabitants, it being the Royal purpose to people the land with Swedes. Measures, also, were taken to procure a sufficient number of colonists. At first it was sought to accomplish this through suasion, but the people entertained a repugnance to the long sea-voyage to the remote and heathen land. It is affirmed in the letters of the administration to the Governors of the Provinces of Elfsborg and Värmland,[2] that no one spontaneously offered to accompany Captain van Vliet. The government ordered these officers, therefore, to lay hands on such married soldiers as had either evaded service or committed some other offence, and transport them, with their wives and children, to New Sweden, with the promise to bring them home again within two years—to do this, however, "justly and discreetly," that no riot might ensue. It was still more difficult, in times so grievous, to obtain funds for the expedition. The thought, at length, was entertained of allowing the Ship and Southern Company to

[1] *Amiralitetets registr. i Sjöförvaltn.s arkiv.*

[2] Dated August 7 and 8, 1639: *registr. Handl. rör. Skand. Hist.*, xxix. p. 210.

embark their capital in the new association, granting them the same monopoly of the tobacco trade. Blommaert, moreover, and the rest of the Dutch partners were solicited to make a new contribution of money.[1]

The Dutch partners of the Company were, however, by no means so ready as the Swedes to proceed with the undertaking. They had regarded it chiefly as a matter of business, and they now complained that it had not been conducted in a business-like manner, but, on the contrary, had grown to so great a size that it had ceased to maintain itself. Affairs had been managed, it was alleged, less in the interest of the partners than in that of the Swedish crown, and, therefore, the Swedish government should assume a part of the cost. Besides, Minuit was gone, and, with him, also the confidence with which his personal supervision inspired the Dutchmen. The Directors of the West India Company went so far, at last, as actually to lament Minuit's so-called intrusion within their premises, and, inasmuch as the Dutch partners in the Swedish Company were now, at the same time, members of the West India Company, these suffered the reproaches of their countrymen for trammelling them with the Swedes—"they had, although members of the same college, done them more harm than good." Especially did Blommaert encounter many *désagréments* in consequence of his participancy in this affair, and he was, therefore, less willing than before to further the scheme. It was, probably, to remove his countrymen's repugnance to the enterprise, that he sought to lead it into another channel, and directed attention to the advantageousness of the situation of New Sweden for privateering against the Spaniards. The Spanish fleets of Mexico, and their rich cargoes, at that period excited the cupidity of many persons, the more so since the Dutch had the good fortune, in 1628, to intercept the great Spanish silver fleet. New Sweden, thought Blommaert, supplied an excellent point of departure, and place of refuge, for vessels disposed to watch for the Spaniards

[1] Fleming to Spiring and Blommaert, June 8, 1639; Fleming's *Memorial* for Mårten Augustinsson, February 28, 1639. The Oxenstjerna papers.

as they sailed out from Havana. But the Swedish gentlemen would not hearken to these proposals, and pursued plans of trade and colonization as their chief aim.[1]

Although the leading members of the Company in Sweden thus resolved to send a fresh expedition to New Sweden as soon as possible, considerable delay occurred before it was ready to set forth, arising from various hindrances attending its preparation. With means advanced by Spiring and Blommaert, the *Kalmar Nyckel* was equipped in Holland for a second journey, and provided with another crew. The vessel was first to go to Gottenburg, to unload and take on board the Swedish emigrants, but her departure was postponed, in order to finish her repairs, as well as in consequence of a commission imposed on Spiring, namely, the lying in wait for, and arrest of a certain imperial ambassador, who was expected to go by sea to Denmark. The person intended must have been Count Kurtz, who, in the spring of 1639, went by sea from Hamburg to Denmark and Poland, for the purpose of entering into political engagements with those kingdoms. As, however, Kurtz embarked in a Danish man-of-war, the plan could not be carried out. At length the *Kalmar Nyckel* left for Gottenburg, where she arrived in June, 1639, and delivered the cargo of tobacco (12,000 pounds) with which she still was laden. Here the vessel lay for fourteen weeks, a detention caused, partly, by the negligence of the new commander, partly, by the difficulty of procuring emigrants, a body of whom, however, were at last assembled, and placed on board, together with cattle, horses, swine, implements for farming, and so forth. The office of Governor at Christina was assigned to Lieutenant Peter Hollender, like the former commander, probably, as his name indicates, also a Dutchman;[2] and this was, very likely, the expedition which Tor-

[1] Fleming to the chancellor, June 8, 1639; Spiring to the same, November 19, 1638, and July 29, 1639; Blommaert to the same, November 13, 1638, and January 28, 1640. The Oxenstjerna papers.

[2] His letters are written in German, but with such a blending of Dutch words as equally intimates birth in Holland. He signs himself *Peter Hollender Ridder* (Knight), from whence we may presume he was a nobleman.

killus, the first Swedish clergyman in New Sweden, accompanied to America.[1]

The *Kalmar Nyckel* left Gottenburg in the beginning of the autumn of 1639, but had not proceeded farther than the German Ocean when she sprang a leak and was obliged to lay up for repairs at Medemblik. Twice the ship put out to sea, but both times returned in consequence of fresh damages, which entailed still further delay and expenditure of means. At length the ship's crew declared themselves unwilling to sail on such a vessel, and under such a captain as van Vliet. The latter was accused not only of carelessness, but also of dishonesty in victualling the ship, and when Blommaert instituted an examination of the matter, both charges were substantiated. For these reasons van Vliet was removed from his command by Spiring, and another person, named Pouwel Jansen, probably also a Dutchman, was appointed in his stead. Likewise, a new crew was hired. On setting forth the ship had to endure once more the *contretemps* of a violent easterly storm, which on this occasion produced a shoal in the Zuider Zee, rendering it temporarily unnavigable, but finally all obstacles were overcome, and on the 7th of February, 1640, the *Kalmar Nyckel* sailed from the Texel.[2]

From this time ceases the correspondence between Blommaert and the chancellor, and the former is named no more, either because he went with the expeditions to America, or for some other reason. He died, however, or else left the Swedish service, not long afterwards.[3] When the Swedish

The name, however, is not found either in Anrep or in Klingspor and Schlegel. His commission is dated July 1, 1639, and was issued by Kl. Fleming.

[1] This supposition accords with what Ferris, *op. cit.* p. 39, states on the authority of the Rev. Nicholas Collin's notes in the Wicacoa Church Books, namely, that Torkillus who died in September, 1643, died in the fourth year after his arrival. Compare a preceding foot-note (page 210, note [3]).

[2] With regard to the above facts information is derived from Blommaert's letter to the chancellor, dated January 28, 1640, and from Peter Hollender's letter to the same, dated May 13, 1640. The Oxenstjerna papers.

[3] On the 21st of July, 1642, it was decreed in the *Råd*, that Appelbom and Trotzig should come to Amsterdam in Blommaert's place, and divide his salary between them. *Rådsprotok.* April 11, 1643, a *Memorial* was

gentlemen resolved to carry on the work of colonization in the interest of their sovereign, they, naturally, became solicitous to eliminate the Dutch influence from the Company. In the minutes of the chamber of accounts for February 20, 1641, it is said, the government had resolved to buy out the Holland partners, "since they are a hindrance to us," with 18,000 *gulden* of the public funds.[1] The same day a letter was sent to Spiring, with the injunction to pay the above sum to the Dutch partners from the Dutch subsidies, on condition they abandoned all further claims.[2] This, without doubt, was done, and thus the new colony fell entirely into Swedish hands. At the same time the government granted the new Company ("our incorporated Southern Company") a monopoly of the tobacco trade between Sweden, Finland, and Ingermanland.[3]

Although the Swedish government thus desired to achieve independency of the Dutch in conducting their plans of colonization, they, nevertheless, had no objection to the settlement on their territory of people of that industrious race, provided they subjected themselves to Swedish rule. A number of such persons from the Province of Utrecht, who could not agree with the Directors of the West India Company touching the terms of their establishment in New Netherland, wished instead to emigrate to New Sweden. To this end they first addressed themselves to Spiring, and then sent an agent (Jost van Bogardt?) to Stockholm, to obtain a grant from the Swedish government. The chief promoters of this scheme were certain influential members of the West India Company, probably belonging to the discontented party. It was a Herr van der Horst who first entered into negotiation with the

issued for the old W. Usselincx in the quality of Swedish agent of commerce in Holland. *Registr.*

[1] *Kammararkivet.*

[2] *Tyska och latinska registr.* We have found no intimation when and in what manner Blommaert received compensation for his individual disbursements.

[3] *Privilegium* for the Southern Company of the tobacco trade, dated January 12, 1641, printed in Stiernman, *Saml. af Ekonom. förordn.* ii. pp. 305 *et seq.*; cf. pp. 309, 373.

Swedish authorities, but the grant was transferred from him to one Henrik Hoogkamer and his "associates." These obtained from the Swedish government, January 24, 1640, a so-called "*Octroy und Privilegium*" for founding a new colony in New Sweden. This charter was in imitation of the concessions common with the Dutch West India Company, called "patroonships." It was a kind of feudal system, established on the free soil of America. Hoogkamer and his associates, also called patrons in the grant, were to have the right to take up land in New Sweden on both sides of the Delaware, at a distance of from four to five German miles from Christina. They were to hold this territory under the protection of the crown of Sweden, as hereditary property, and exercise upon it both superior and inferior judiciary authority; they might found cities, promulgate statutes, appoint functionaries to office, enjoy unrestrained exercise of the so-called reformed confession, and freely follow professions and trades—all on the following conditions: they were to recognize the suzerainty of the crown of Sweden, and pay as tribute three imperial guilders for every family settled there; they were to have a care of the religion, instruction, and conversion of the savages; must employ in commerce and navigation vessels, only, built in New Sweden; after the expiration of ten years of freedom from taxation were to pay five per cent. on all exports and imports, besides a certain impost for the defence of the land; and, finally, were required to use Gottenburg as the place for bonding all goods shipped by them to Europe. These were, it is perceived, a portion of the privileges of the South Sea Company. Simultaneously with the charter, the government granted, also, a passport for the ship *Freedenburg*, which was to transport the Dutch settlers to New Sweden, as well as a commission ("*Bestallungsbrief*") for a certain Jost van Bogardt, as Swedish agent in New Sweden, without doubt specially for the Dutch colony established there, for he is referred to afterwards in that capacity. This Bogardt was, likewise, the leader of the Dutch expedition; he arrived with it in New Sweden on the 2d of November, 1640, and settled

with his people three or four (Swedish) miles below Christina.[1]

In the meanwhile, after a short voyage, the Second Swedish Expedition had arrived on the 17th of April, 1640, at Christina.[2] Here they found the colony brought out by Minuit in

[1] Blommaert to the chancellor, January 28, 1640. Spiring to the same, July 23, 1639. *Memorie van de Heer Hoochcamer om den Heer Resident Spieringk te verthoonen*, with Spiring's *Gegenbedenken* upon it. The privilege, the passport, and the commission for Boogardt in the *tyska och lat. registr.* P. Hollender to the chancellor, December 3, 1640. The Oxenstjerna papers. Cf. Hazard's *Annals*, pp. 51 *et seq.*

[2] Although, unfortunately, no list of the colonists, who came to New Sweden in the First or Second Swedish Expeditions, has yet been found, the Royal Archives at Stockholm contain a "*Rulle der Volcker so in New Schweden den* 1 *Martij anno* 1648 *noch in Leben sein gewesen*," which mentions certain persons as having "crossed the ocean in the *Kalmar Nyckel* in 1639," of the number, evidently, of those who emigrated with Minuit and Hollender, in point of fact in 1638 and 1640. These are as follows:

Anders Svensson Bonde, born in Sweden in 1620; settled June 20, 1644, at Tinicum, employed in "making hay for the cattle" and in sailing Governor Printz's "little yacht;" and March 1, 1648, gunner at New Gottenburg. In 1680 he was living at "Kingsess," and in 1693 was assessed as the wealthiest inhabitant of Philadelphia County west of the Schuylkill. He owned land in Calkoons and Carkoons Hooks, and in 1694 resided on an island, bearing his name, in Minquas Creek, where he died before June, 1696, leaving a widow, Anneka (who died in 1713), and six sons and four daughters, who perpetuated his family under the cognomen of Boon.

Per Andersson, occupied in 1644 in the same place and manner as Bonde, continuing to sail the Governor's yacht in 1648.

Anders Larsson Daalbo, in 1644 cultivating tobacco on a plantation near the Schuylkill, and in 1648 provost, and in 1658 lieutenant in the colony. For some of his descendants see page 337.

Sven Larsson, in 1644 engaged like Daalbo, in 1648 described as "mason."

Peter Gunnarsson Rambo, in 1644 cultivating tobacco for the Company on the plantation at Christina, in 1648 described as "freeman." He held several offices under the Dutch and English Governments on the Delaware, and died in Philadelphia County, Pa., in 1698, being the last survivor of the first two colonies. He had four sons and two daughters, all of whom were married and left posterity. For further reference to him see a foot-note on page 94.

Sven Gunnarsson, in 1644 occupied like Rambo, in 1648 a freeman. He must have been accompanied by his wife and eldest son, since the latter,

good condition. It is true, the report of Governor Kieft to the Directors of the West India Company makes the statement that the settlers in New Sweden were much distressed, seeing they had heard nothing from home for a whole year, and had even determined to leave the place, and betake themselves to New Amsterdam, but were prevented by the arrival of a Swedish vessel the day before that set for their departure: this does not very well accord, however, with the same Kieft's complaint, that the Swedish colony had caused a loss of about 30,000 florins to the trade of the West India Company, for such an admission evinces considerable activity.[1] The settlers themselves, unfortunately, furnish us with no account of the mode in which they passed the time after Minuit took leave of them: of this period we have only discovered a single manuscript memento, a half-decayed "*Schuldt Boeck*," or account-book, kept by Henrik Huyghen from the year 1638.[2] We feel assured, however, that the arrival of the fresh colony could not fail to strengthen the Swedish settlement on the Delaware, although the new emigrants do not seem to have been numerous, or of the best description. At least, the commander, Peter Hollender, complains in his letters to the chancellor that the colonists were too few in number, and little skilled in husbandry and handicraft: "no more stupid,

known as Sven Svensson, was born in Sweden. He had two younger sons, born here, and, with these three, obtained from Alexander d'Hinojossa, the Dutch Governor, a patent for land on the west side of the Delaware, above "Moyamensings kil," dated May 5, 1664. He was still living in 1677, but died not long afterwards, leaving posterity, who assumed the name of Swanson.

Lars Svensson Kåckin, in 1644 occupied like Rambo, in 1648 a freeman.

Måns Andersson, *ditto.*

Joen Thorsson, *ditto.*

Mårten Göttersson, in 1644 engaged like Rambo, in 1648 described as "labourer."

Besides the foregoing, the name of Clas Jansson, "freeman," is also given in the *Rulle*, possibly incorrectly for Carl Jansson, who did not come to America, however, till 1641.—Trans.

[1] Hazard's *Annals*, pp. 50, 56, 57.

[2] In the Royal Archives. The accounts are of the simplest kind, and yield no more specific information.

indifferent people are to be found in all Sweden, than those who are now here," says he. They had brought with them, too, an insufficient supply of domestic animals, it seems. The new chief, therefore, did not harmonize with those who till then had directed the affairs of the colony, namely, Kling and Huyghen. This lack of unity displayed itself immediately after the arrival of the Second Expedition, with respect to the question, what conduct should be observed in relation to the Hollenders stationed at Fort Nassau. The former commanders desired to employ force, in case the Dutch laid obstacles in the way of the Swedish settlers, while the new Governor preferred, in accordance with his instructions, to proceed gently as long as possible. When, on the 21st of April, Hollender was pursuing his way up the river in the sloop, in passing Fort Nassau he was saluted with three shots, but made no reply to this act of hostility, and quietly continued his course. He purchased land of the Indians higher up, and erected three pillars about eight or nine (Swedish) miles above Christina for a boundary; a fourth was set up afterwards, below the fort.[1] Returning from his journey on the 25th of April, he lay at anchor in front of Fort Nassau, and sent thither a letter, to which he received no answer, shot being once more discharged after the Swedish sloop. New protests, also, were subsequently issued by the Dutch, who proclaimed themselves proprietors of the whole territory along the river. No further collisions with the Dutch are mentioned in the letters from Hollender, which are preserved, and of which the last was written in December, 1640.[2] Probably, the respectable political position of Sweden, and the good relations then existing between Sweden and Holland, conduced to protect the Swedish colony against the notoriously inconsiderate West India Company. Less regard was shown by the latter towards the English. When a party of

[1] It was at this time, probably, the land was purchased as far as Trenton Falls: the latter are situated a little more than nine German miles above Christina, but the computation could not be so very exact. See page 280.

[2] P. Hollender to the chancellor, dated May 13, June 8, and December 3, 1640. The Oxenstjerna papers.

sixty persons from New England established themselves, in 1641, on the eastern shore of the Delaware, they were attacked with violence by the Dutch, and disturbed in their trade with the Indians.[1] The Swedes hastened to buy once more from the savages the land where the English had settled, which comprised a tract about twelve German miles in length, reckoning from Cape May, on the east side of the river. On the western side they had, in 1642, already purchased the whole territory from Cape Henlopen to Trenton Falls, a distance of thirty German miles, with the right to extend their limits towards the interior at their pleasure.[2]

What further transpired in the Swedish colony during the governorship of Peter Hollender, or from April, 1640, till February, 1643, is not known. The only statement we can find, regarding this period, is one drawn from American sources, to the effect that a general sickliness prevailed in 1642 among the settlers on the Delaware, both Dutch and Swedes.[3] We are better informed as to the measures taken in the mother country for strengthening the settlement. In May, 1640, the *Kalmar Nyckel* started on her homeward voyage, and arrived at Gottenburg by the following July. Lieutenant Måns Kling accompanied the vessel to Sweden, as we discover from his commission from the government, dated September 26.[4] He was instructed to recruit in the Mining Region (*Bergslagen*)[5] people "for the West Indies or Vir-

[1] Hazard's *Annals*, pp. 58, 59, 62. Cf., however, Ferris's *Settlements*. p. 55.

[2] This may be inferred from Governor Printz's *Instructions*, 1642, §§ 5 and 6. (These give the northern boundary on the eastern shore as "Narraticons kil," now Raccoon Creek.—Trans.)

[3] Hazard's *Annals*, p. 62, following Winthrop's *Journal*.

[4] Commission for Måns Kling, dated September 26, 1640. Shortly before (July 30), the Governor in the Province of Örebro had received orders to prevail upon the unsettled ("*ostadige*") Finns to betake themselves, with their wives and children, to New Sweden. *Registr. Handl. rör. Skand. Hist.* xxix. p. 213.

[5] Certain parts of Sweden, especially in the Provinces of Westmanland and Dalarne, abounding in mines, iron-works, forges, foundries, and so forth.—Trans.

ginia, where New Sweden is situated," a colony founded, it is affirmed, "that the inhabitants of Sweden may profit by the wealth of that land, so rich in valuable merchandise, as well as increase their traffic with foreign nations, and become expert at sea." Particularly should he seek to enlist the "roaming Finns" ("*drift-finnar*"), who were wont to live free of charge in the houses of the inhabitants of the Swedish forests. We find the former Lieutenant-Colonel Johan Printz acting in the same commission the following year in northern Finland,[1] having been dismissed the service shortly before in consequence of a dishonorable capitulation,[2] and so returned from fighting in Germany. It was, probably,[3] the people collected by Kling, who were sent off in May, 1641, on the ship *Charitas*, from Stockholm to Gottenburg, to be transferred from thence to New Sweden; the list comprises thirty-two persons, of whom four were criminals, but the remainder went either as servants in the employment of the Company, or else to better their fortunes.[4] It is likely they were met in Gottenburg by several emigrants from western Sweden:[5] for the Governor in Värmland and Dal received orders, dated April 16, that the forest-destroying Finns,[6] whom he had captured and imprisoned, provided they could not

[1] Letter, without date, from Printz to the chancellor from Korsholm near Vasa.

[2] The capitulation of Chemnitz, certainly, was dishonorable, and the statement of Anton von Stiernman, quoted by Acrelius, exhibits the Lieutenant-Colonel's subsequent conduct in an unfavorable light. Mr. Sprinchorn, in his *Kolonien Nya Sveriges Historia* (Stockholm, 1878), cites Pufendorf (*Drott. Christinas hist., bok.* xii. § 9) as saying, that the fortress was surrendered in consequence of the cowardice of the citizens and Printz's soldiers, and notwithstanding the fact that, during a five days' siege, only ten men had been lost to the enemy's two hundred.—Trans.

[3] The *Rulle* of 1648, referred to in a former foot-note, removes all doubt upon this point.—Trans.

[4] List among Documents relating to New Sweden in the Royal Archives.

[5] This fact, also, is attested by the *Rulle* of 1648.—Trans.

[6] Described in a royal mandate to the same person, dated July 29, as people who, "against our Edict and Prohibition, destroy the forests by setting tracts of wood on fire, in order to sow in the ashes, and who mischievously fell trees."—Trans.

give security, should be held in readiness to be sent to America; and the Governor in the Province of Skaraborg was by letter directed to permit a trooper, condemned for having broken into the cloister garden at Varnhem,[1] to choose between the punishments of hanging and embarking for New Sweden.[2] By some accounts in the chamber of archives we find further, that, between the autumn of 1640 and the spring of 1641, a variety of purchases were made, both in Holland and at Gottenburg, for the equipment of the Third Expedition to the Delaware.[3] The persons, who are mentioned as taking part in these preparations, were Spiring, Major Clerck, and the agents Le Thor and v. Schotingen, while, on the other hand, the name of Blommaert is not met with. The Expedition this time consisted of the old well-tried *Kalmar Nyckel* and the *Charitas* (a vessel which was made ready at Stockholm), and its cost was computed at somewhat over 35,000 florins. Nothing more is known of the Third Expedition, which sailed, however, for New Sweden in 1641.[4]

The persons interested, as already stated, had long since entertained the thought of appropriating the whole or a part of the funds of the Southern Ship Company for the expenses of the next sea-voyage, and the furtherance of their colonization scheme. This plan, which had been first proposed by Spiring, was executed, also, during Spiring's visit to Sweden, in the summer of 1642. In the months of July and August several consultations with him were held in the *Råd*,

[1] A monastery in Westergothland, devoted at this period to royal uses. The trooper, it is alleged, was guilty of "destroying and cutting down six apple-trees and two cherry-trees."—Trans.

[2] These letters, printed in *Handl. rör. Skand. Hist.* xxix. pp. 217–8.

[3] Since this is expressly called the *third* voyage to New Sweden, it is probable that the projected expedition, mentioned in the letters of the government to Fleming, dated April 13 and 28, 1640 ("the ships which go to New Sweden, to be well equipped and commanded by Johan Dufva," "the five ships which are to go to Virginia"), did not come off.

[4] *Specification über der dritten Viagio de Nova Suecia in anno* 1641. Major Richard Clerck's account of what he spent for the equipment of the ship *Kalmar Nyckel* in 1640–1, and so forth. (For a pretty full list of the colonists who came to New Sweden with this Expedition see Notes at the end of this number of the Magazine.—Trans.)

the *Räkningekammar*, and privately, the partners in the Ship Company being invited to attend. The result was the formation of a new company under the name of the West India or American Company (called, also, "*Compagnie de Nova Suecia*"). Its capital was fixed at 36,000 *riksdaler;* the old Southern Ship Company entered into it with half that sum, or 18,000 *rdr.*; the crown contributed one-sixth, or 6000 *rdr.*; the chancellor, P. Spiring, and the heirs of the great chancellor of justice each one-twelfth, and the treasurer and Clas Fleming each one twenty-fourth[1]—this statement, without doubt, including what had already been expended for the first company of 1637. Moreover, a transfer was made to the new company of the monopoly of the tobacco trade, granted to the Southern Company in 1641. Finally, also, it was decided that the crown should pay the salaries of a governor for the colony, and of other necessary civil and military officers. Lieutenant-Colonel Johan Printz, before referred to, was commissioned Governor on the 15th of August, 1642, and detailed *Instructions* for his guidance were issued the same day. On the 30th of August a certain "budget for the government in New Sweden" was adopted, mentioning a governor with a salary of 800 *rdr.*, a lieutenant, a sergeant, a corporal, a gunner, a trumpeter, and a drummer, besides twenty-four private soldiers, as well as, in the civil list, a preacher, a clerk, a surgeon, a provost, and a hangman—the whole estimate amounting to 3020 *rdr.*, of which 2620 *rdr.* were to be furnished by the crown from the tobacco excise.[2] In Amsterdam and Gottenburg (the Company's headquarters and *dépôt* in Sweden) special factors were appointed on behalf of the Company, and the chief direction of the whole was entrusted to Clas Fleming, who was assisted in his charge

[1] From later accounts we find the capital of the Company was by degrees increased: thus the city of Viborg joined it with 2000 *rdr.*, the commissary in New Sweden, Henrik Huyghen, with the same amount, and through the Southern Ship Company 12,000 *rdr.*, in addition, were placed in it.

[2] In the royal ledger for the year 1644 New Sweden is rated at only 1200 *daler*, silver money, or 800 *rdr.:* to this sum we must, probably, add the income from the tobacco excise.

by Beyer, even after the latter became postmaster-general. On Fleming's death (in 1644) no head-director was named as his successor, and in this fact, combined with the remissness of the crown, when the colony stood in need of contributions of money, or other help, we are to seek the main cause of the feebleness and tardy growth of the settlement. Unlike the former regency, Queen Christina's government does not seem to have appreciated the importance of the American colonization scheme: "this," wrote Per Brahe in 1643 to Printz, "in our judgment, truly is great, and greater than many esteem it."[1]

With regard to the preparations for the Fourth and greatest Expedition, under the command of Printz, we have little to communicate, except that the Governors in the Forest and Mining Provinces received orders, as before, to send to New Sweden Finns, who had been guilty of destroying the woods, selecting those who were "strong and able-bodied."[2] The Expedition, which was composed of the ships *Fama* and *Svanen*, left Gottenburg on the 1st of November, 1642, and arrived at Christina February 15, 1643. The clergyman, Johan Campanius, has given a short description of the voyage, inserted by his grandson in the well-known book on New Sweden.[3] With this period the history of the colony begins,

[1] Concerning the foregoing statements see *Rådsprotok.*, June 4 and 17, and July 27, 1642; several Accounts among Documents regarding New Sweden in the Royal Archives; the Governor's *Instructions* and the Budget in the Registry, the *Instructions* being also printed in Acrelius's *History* (Reynolds's Translation, pp. 30 *et seq.*); Johan Beyer to the chancellor, June 21, 1645, among the Oxenstjerna papers; Per Brahe to Printz, November 9, 1643 (*Conc.*), *Sko Kloster.*

[2] Royal Letter to several Governors, dated August 1, 1642. *Registr.*

[3] So far as can be ascertained, no list of the colonists who accompanied Printz has been preserved; but, besides the Governor's wife and daughter, Armgott, the Rev. Johan Campanius Holm, "*junker*" Knut Liljehöök (serving as a soldier in 1644 at Elfsborg), and Måns Kling (who had come out before in 1638 and 1641) (Sprinchorn, *op. cit.*), we gather from the *Rulle* of 1648, already mentioned, the following names:

Knut Persson, clerk, residing in 1644 at Tinicum, still acting in the same capacity in 1648.

Jöran Kyn Snöhvit, a soldier in the Governor's guard at Tinicum in 1644,

in general, to assume a clearer aspect; notwithstanding, the elucidation of the subject is not yet complete, owing to the fact that several important documents, unfortunately, are lost. Among these, for example, is the first official report sent by Governor Printz from New Sweden, for the year 1643. We possess only his private letter to the Chancellor, dated Chris-

afterwards the chief colonist at Upland. For an account of him see THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, vol. ii. pp. 325 *et seq.*

Elias Gyllengren, a soldier in the Governor's guard at Tinicum in 1644, in 1648 gunner at Korsholm. In May, 1654, he held the post of lieutenant, and took part in the seizure of Fort Casimir by Governor Rising. "Lieutenant Gyllengren, with our soldiers," says Peter Lindström in his MS. account of the affair, "forced his way into the fort, by the order of Commander Sven Schute, took possession of the guns, and, striking down the Dutch flag, raised the Swedish in its stead."

Anders Andersson Homan, born in Sweden in December, 1620, a soldier in the Governor's guard at Tinicum in 1644, still a soldier in 1648, residing in 1677 at Carkoons Hook, in 1697 at Trumpeter's Creek, buried at Upland in September, 1700. His wife Catharine was born in Finland, and was still living in 1697. He had several children.

Hans Lüneburger, a soldier in the Governor's guard at Tinicum in 1644, in 1648 still a soldier.

Lars Andersson, *ditto.*

Nils Andersson, *ditto.*

Michel Nilsson, smith, in 1644 at Upland.

Gregorius van Dyck, sheriff, residing in 1644 at Elfsborg, and holding his office till 1661.

Sven Andersson, drummer, in 1644 at Elfsborg.

Jacob Svensson, in 1644 a soldier at Elfsborg, in 1648 gunner at Christina, in 1658 ensign.

Nicklaus Bock, or Borck, in 1644 a soldier at Elfsborg, in 1648 corporal.

Johan Gustafsson, in 1644 a soldier at Elfsborg, still a soldier in 1648.

Peter Meyer, *ditto.*

Isack van Eysen, *ditto.*

Constantinos Grönebergh, *ditto.*

Peter Jochimson, *ditto.*

Joen Nilsson Skreddere, *ditto.*

Johan Olofsson, provost at Christina in 1644, in 1648 a soldier.

Lars Jacobsson, a soldier at Christina in 1644, in 1648 still a soldier.

Thomas Jöransson Timberman, carpenter, in 1644 on the island at Christina.

Mårten Mårtensson Glaasere, in 1644 cultivating tobacco for the Company on the plantation at Christina, in 1648 a freeman.—TRANS.

tina, April 14, 1643. "It is a remarkably fine land," says he, speaking of that country, "with all excellent qualities a man can possibly desire on earth." The earliest detailed account of New Sweden appears in Printz's second official report, dated June 20, 1644. So far as we are aware, this document has not appeared in print, and, since it must be known to very few, we cannot, we think, more fittingly conclude the history of the founding of New Sweden than by inserting it here.[1]

[1] Translations of this and of certain hitherto unprinted documents connected with the history of New Sweden would form a valuable addition to the volumes already published by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.—TRANS.

MEMORIALS OF COL. JEHU EYRE.

CONTRIBUTED AND EDITED BY

PETER D. KEYSER, M.D.

(Concluded from page 307.)

Having finished his labors at Fort Pitt, Mr. Eyre returned to Philadelphia in December, 1760, and again went to work at the ship-yard of Richard Wright in Kensington, with whom his brother Manuel had remained. On January 8, 1760, Manuel married Mary, and Dec. 28, of the same year, Jehu married Lydia, daughters of the said Richard Wright. They both entered into the business with him, and succeeded him a few years afterwards.[1] About this time their youngest brother, Benjamin George Eyre (who became Colonel and Aid-de-Camp to General Washington at Trenton and Princeton),[2] came to them from Burlington, N. J., where their father had died Jan. 14, 1761, to learn ship building. The three brothers carried on the business together for some years, until the early part of 1777, when they separated, Manuel going into the Navy Board, and Benjamin G. remaining in the Army.

Jehu remained at the old place in Kensington, on the river just above the present Hanover Street, near where the Wm.

[1] The first large vessel that Manuel and Jehu Eyre built after succeeding Richard Wright in the business, was a barque called the "Truelove." I have often heard my mother say that the first large vessel her grandfather launched was a barque named "Truelove," and that the first one built by her father, George Eyre, the oldest son of Jehu, and successor to his business, was a barque named the "Three Brothers," after his father Jehu, and uncles Manuel and Benjamin G. This barque "Truelove," I suppose, was the vessel that came here to our docks from Greenland or Iceland in 1873, then spoken of as being 109 years old, and having been built in Kensington, Philadelphia.—P. D. K.

[2] His name is not in the list of Aids given by Sparks, but the tradition that he acted in that capacity is supported by the fact that his portrait is to be found in Trumbull's picture of Washington at Princeton.—P. D. K.

Penn Treaty Monument stands. His dwelling house is still standing in its primitive style; a two-story brick, with large cut stone copes over the door and windows.

After the news of the battle of Lexington, companies of minute men and associators for military purposes were being formed throughout the Colonies, and the citizens of Philadelphia became very active in such movements. One of the first to take a prominent part in them was Jehu Eyre, who formed his ship carpenters, workmen, and apprentice boys into a military company for the protection and defence of the city and county, he being the captain commanding them.

From his Orderly-Book we find that on Aug. 30, 1775, Capt. Jehu Eyre's men on guard at the State House—

Joseph Robinett, *Serg't of the Guard*,
Conrad Smith, *Corporal*,
George Grosskop,
Richard Ryhl,
Michael Yops,
Daniel Haines,
Conrad Stager.

Again on guard at the same place Sept. 21, 1775—

Joseph Robinett, *Serg't*,
John Gunn,
Thomas Gunn,
David Dubinhall,
Jacob Bumm,
Thomas Sutton,
Jonathan Wright.

Sept. 21, 1775, Guard at Powder House—

Jacob Sheppard, *Serg't*,
George Bakeoven,
Christopher Painter,
Robert Patterson,
George Sheats,
John Wood.

Capt. J. Eyre's men on guard Oct. 10, 1775, at the State House—

Joseph Robinett, *Serg't*,
Peter Browne,
Richard Rhyl,
John Wood,
Michael Yops,
John Brown,
Jacob Jones,
Joseph Hopkins,
Thomas Palmer.

Oct. 10, at the Gaol—

Joseph Frandelberg, *Serg't*,
Benjamin Wood,
Wm. McMichael
Jonathan Grice,
Christopher Painter,
Jonathan Wright,
Jacob Sheppard,
George Grosskop.

Oct. 10, at the Powder House—

George Sheats, *Serg't*,
George Fox,
Conrad Lutes,
George Mederer,
George Bakeoven,
Peter Paris,
John Wilkins.

Nov. 19th—

Joseph Robinett, *Serg't*,
William Turner, *Serg't*,
Richard Ryhl,
Henry Brewster,
David Bradshaw,
George Pfister,
Alexander James,
Jno. Rush,
Robert Davis,
George Fox,
William Guinnop,
Benjamin Corot,
David Derrick,
Thomas Palmer,
John Rain,
Conrad Stager.

In July, 1775, the Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania, being desirous of having gunboats built for the defence of the Delaware River, invited certain shipbuilders to present models for the same. Manuel Eyre, the senior of the three brothers, presented a model, which, being approved by the Committee, the order was given to the firm on the 10th of July to build one according to it, and on the 26th of the same month it was launched from their yard, and called the Bull Dog. They afterward built "The Franklin" and "The Congress."[1] At the time Gen. Washington was preparing to make his attack on Trenton, N. J., to capture the Hessian soldiers at that place, he was so short of troops that the militia of Pennsylvania and New Jersey were ordered to reinforce his army, and the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania issued the following appeal:—

The calamities of war having spread through the neighboring State to our very borders, and our metropolis in danger of

[1] Christopher Marshall recorded in his diary under date of April 5, 1776: "I went to Dr. Young's; not at home. We went up to Kensington; found him and several friends there at work on board the frigate building by Messrs. Eyre. We joined them in assisting what we could till night. Then came home." On the 6th he wrote: "Near two, set off for Kensington, in order to assist in getting the lower deck beams on board the frigate building by Messrs. Eyre. I presume there came not short of one hundred, who stayed until they were all put on board. In which were included three parts of the Light Infantry of First Battalion, who came in warlike array."

being reduced, and had it not been for the spirit and virtue of some of our brave Countrymen, who with the blessing of Almighty God, have checked the progress of our enemy, it might now be in their possession; but while they can maintain, without interruption, a Port within a day's march of this City, we ought not consider ourselves in safety, nor should any man be allowed to withhold his service from the Public, or to indulge himself in a pusilanimous neutrality, when he must reap all the advantages that will be derived from the virtuous struggles of those in the Field; therefore—

Resolved, that Colonel Cadwalader send an officer from his Brigade belonging to each district in this City, the Liberties, and townships of Moyamensing and Passyunk, who are hereby authorized to call out all the able-bodied men in their districts by a written or printed notice left at each of their respective habitations, and to enroll and form them into proper companies under the officers already chosen; and when so enrolled they are to be subject to such military duty as the militia now in service. If any persons should be so lost to a sense of their duty as to refuse or decline to obey such notification, they shall be considered as Enemies to this State, and shall not be intituled to any protection under this Government, either for their persons or property. Such Persons whose passive conduct, from the commencement of the present contest with G. Britain have manifested Religious Scruples against bearing arms, are excepted, as well as those whose age and bodily infirmity render them unfit for duty, or are in public offices and have exemptions from this board.

Under this order the ranks of the military organizations were filled up, and Capt. Jehu Eyre's company was soon ready for service. When the call was made for the militia to march, Capt. Eyre with his company, formed and officered as follows, started Dec. 6, 1776, to join the army near Bristol:—

Jehu Eyre, *Captain*,	Geo. Pfister,
John Browne, *Lieutenant*,	David Derrick,
Joseph Robinett, *Sergeant*,	Thos. Palmer,
Jacob Sheppard, "	John Rain,
Joseph Frandelberg, "	Conrad Stager,
George Sheats, "	John Brown,
Wm. Turner, "	Michael Yops,
Wm. McMichael,	Jacob Jones,
Daniel Bates,	J. Hopkins,
Christian Overstag,	Jonathan Grice,

Hugh Lemmon,
Jacob Hanshew,
Robert Brown,
William Howell,
John Robb,
John Miller,
Benjamin Pearson,
George Death,
John Ruke,
Valentine Sorks,
Joseph Sickfrit,
Daniel Bradshaw,
Christian Froelich,
Henry Brewster,
Alex. James,
Robert Davis,
George Fox,
William Guinnop,
Benjamin Corot,
Jacob Reel,
George Streeten,
John Moseley,
Mathew Remer,
Roger Palmer,
Geo. Grosskop,
Jonathan Wright,
Christopher Painter,
Geo. Mederer,
Geo. Carlin,
Geo. Bakeoven,
Conrad Lutes,
Peter Paris,
John Wilkins,
Conrad Smith,
David Dubinhall,
John Gunn,
Thos. Gunn,
Jacob Bumm,
Thos. Sutton,
Robert Patterson,
John Wood,
John Barker,
Stephen Carter,
Benj. Wood,
William Parsons,
Daniel Price,
Edward Conner,
John Ogborn.

This Company was formed for artillery service, Capt. Eyre having no doubt learned the handling of guns while under the English in Fort Pitt in 1760.

Arriving up nearly opposite Trenton he reported for duty with his command, and was placed with that of Gen. Ewing who was to cross just below Trenton, to intercept the retreat of the Hessians in that direction.

As it was necessary to cross the river in boats through the floating ice, and an inspection of such as they could gather was necessary, Capt. Eyre on the 23d of December detailed the following men, who were boat builders, from his company, to repair the defective craft at "Trentown ferry:" John Ogborn, Geo. Pfister, John Mosley, Joseph Smith, Mathew Remer, Roger Palmer, and Jacob Hanshew.

After the return of Washington with his troops and prisoners to the Pennsylvania side of the river, the evening of the day of the battle, the following guard of Capt. Eyre's men

was placed at the ferry above Trenton, then called Eyre's Ferry: Joseph Frandelberg, *Serg't*, John Wood, John Barker, Stephen Carter, Benj. Wood, Wm. Parsons, Daniel Price, and Edward Conner. There they remained until the 30th of December, when Gen. Washington ordered the whole command over to Trenton. From thence they moved on and took part in the Battle of Princeton Jan. 4, 1777, and the succeeding campaign. After which, Capt. Eyre's term of service having expired, he returned home with his command, as the danger to the city had passed away.

He then entered actively into his business, as his brothers Manuel and Benjamin G. had withdrawn therefrom. Manuel had been appointed one of the Navy Board to take under their care all the vessels of war, armed boats, fire ships, etc., belonging to Pennsylvania, constructed for the defence of the city by water, and to furnish them with everything necessary to attack or repel the enemy. The Navy Board was composed of the following gentlemen: Andrew Caldwell, Joseph Blewer, Joseph March, Manuel Eyre, Paul Cox, Robert Ritchie, William Pollard, Samuel Massey, Thomas Barclay, and William Bradford.

Immediately on his return, Capt. Eyre laid the keel (Jan. 25, 1777), of the schooner Dolphin, which he built in connection with his brother-in-law, Peter Browne,[1] an iron worker for ships, etc.

The schooner was finished the last of March, and on April the 9th sold to Capt. Miller, Jehu Eyre, and Paine Newman, who held her in copartnership of one-third each.

He also built the schooner Molly at this time, which was owned by the same parties in thirds. During the first two-thirds of this year he was attending to his business, and at the same time keeping up the military system, ready to serve when called upon by the State Government; for in June he reorganized his Company, as the following copy of the original muster roll shows:—

[1] Peter Browne had married also a daughter of Richard Wright, and sister of the wives of Manuel and Jehu Eyre.

We whose names are hereunto subscribed do Pledge our Faith to each other that we will continue to associate for the Defence of American Liberty, and to stand forth for the same when called on, as witness our hands this 5th day of June, 1777, in a Company of Artillery—

Jehu Eyre, *Captain*,
John Browne, 1*st Lieu't*,
Wm. McMichael, *Serg't*,
John Rain,
Jacob Reel,
Richard Howell,
Christian Overstag,
John Miller,
Christian Froelich,
Joseph Smith,
Mathew Remer,
Roger Palmer,
Jacob Hanshew,
Christian Rush,
Hugh Mulloy,
Peter Browne,
Thos. Rice,
Samuel Baker,
Thomas Farren,
Adam Watt,
John Farren,
John Ogborn,
Robert Cane,
John Davis,
Joseph Robinett,
John Westcott,
George Streten,
Morgan Rice,
Valentine Sorks,
Manuel Eyre,
Sam'l Clinton,
Alex. McAllister,
William Knox,
William Christian,
Joseph Allen,
Jesse Williamson,
Richard Salter,
Michael Baker, Jr.,
Daniel Earnest,
Henry Pote,
Thomas Stone,
John Sutton,
James Young,
Robert Brown,
Adam Baker,
Peter Helm,
John Osborn,
David Derrick,
John Cramp,
William Coats,
John Crawford,
Michael Baker, Sr.

On July 25, 1777, the different companies of militia artillery in the City and Liberties were united into a battalion under command of

Jehu Eyre, *Colonel*,
Thomas Nevil, *Lieut.-Colonel*,
Joseph March, *Major*,
John Westcott, *Adjutant*.

1st Company.

Samuel Massey, *Captain*,
Joseph Fry, *Capt.-Lieut.*,
John McGinley, 1*st Lieut.*,
Isaac Ashton, 2*d Lieut.*,
William Thorne, *Capt. Engineer*.

2d Company.

John McCullough, *Captain*.

3d Company.

Peter Browne, *Captain*,	John Ogbourn, 1*st Lieut.*,
Jesse Williamson, *Capt.-Lieut.*,	Wm. McMichael, 2*d Lieut.*,
	John Happ, *Capt. Engineer.*

4th Company.

William Prowell, *Captain*,	John Callanan, 1*st Lieut.*,
Edward James, *Capt.-Lieut.*,	John Claypole, 2*d Lieut.*

The approach of the enemy from the Chesapeake towards Philadelphia in August, 1777, again caused a call upon the militia of the city and county, and William Henry, Lieut. of the County, issued an order to that effect to Col. Eyre, as follows:—

SIR: In consequence of the Executive Councils orders to me, you are hereby ordered to get ready the first and second companys of Artillery Militia under your command to march from hence to Chester, there to join the Militia under the command of Maj.-General John Armstrong, and obey such orders as you shall there receive. I am, Sir,

Your very Humb. Serv't,

WM. HENRY, *Lieut.*

Philadelphia, 27 Aug. 1777, To Col. JEHU EYRE,
Commandant of the Philadelphia
Artillery Militia.

On receipt of the above order Col. Eyre issued the following to his first and second companies:—

SIR: In consequence of An order from the Executive Council Deliver'd me By William Henry, Esq., Lt. of the City & District of Philad^{a}., you are ordered to get your Comp'y of Artillery Militia Ready to march off from hence to Chester—there to join the Millitia under the command of Major-Gen^{l} John Armstrong, or obey such orders as you shall there Receive. I am, Sir,

Your very humble Serv^{t},

JEHU EYRE, *Col. Art'y.*

To Capt^{s} MASSEY & MCCULLOUGH,
KENSINGTON, August 27, 1777.

N. B. You are to Parade your Comp^{y} in the State house yard to-morrow at 1 o'clock on Business of Importance.

A few days after getting the two Companies off for their destination he received the following order direct from Thomas Wharton, President of the State Council:—

In Council, Philad'a, Sept. 6, 1777.

Sir: There is Great Reason to believe that the Enemy's Ships will make an Attempt to weigh the Chevaux-de-Frize, & to Destroy our Fortifications on the Delaware, with Design to reach the City; whilst their Army is endeavoring to Penetrate the Country; it, therefore, becomes Absolutely Necessary for Council to Pay strict attention to these Matters. The works at Billingsport, Fort Island, Darby Creek, and Bush Island by order of his Excellency, Gen^{l} Washington, are left almost Without guard. You will, therefore, repair immediately to these works, and Post the two Companys of Militia Artillery, that are under your command, in such way as to you may appear most Advantageous.

I desire you will use your utmost Endeavors to have those Fortifications put into as good a state of Defence as possible, under the direction of such officer or officers as his Excellency, Gen^{l} Washington, has or may order there for that purpose.

Proper Attention should be paid to the Military or other Stores, &c., that are already or may hereafter be ordered there; have them carefully examined, & see that no waste or Imbezlement happens.

In conjunction with the Commanding Officer of our Fleet, I Request that you will Exert yourself to take, Burn, Sink, or otherwise Destroy the Enemy's Ships or vessels that may Attempt to Invade this or the Neighbouring States.

I expect in a few Days three or four Companys of the Militia from Bucks County, the whole of which, or a Part, as there may Be Occasion, I will order to reinforce you.

I am, Sir,
Your very hum^{ble} Serv't,

To Col. Jehu Eyre. THOS. WHARTON, *Pres't.*

Upon receipt of this he immediately called out the two remaining companies of his Battalion, consisting of those of Capt. Peter Browne and Capt. John Ruper (who had succeeded Capt. Prowell in command of the fourth company), got them ready, and on the 9th of September went with them to Billingsport and Fort Island. After placing them properly there, he joined the companies at Chester that were with Gen. John Armstrong, commander of the Pennsylvania Militia in Washington's army then preparing to oppose the march of the Enemy from the Chesapeake to Philadelphia. By order of Gen. Armstrong he placed his cannon at Pyle's Ford to

prevent the enemy from crossing the Brandywine at that point. On the defeat of the Americans his two companies on the Delaware came up to him, and they fell back with the whole army to the Trappe, Montgomery County, and subsequently went into winter quarters at Valley Forge. At the Battle of Germantown he was under command of Gen. Armstrong on the right, and marched down to the mouth of the Wissahickon, where he placed his cannon, and opened the attack on the Hessians stationed opposite.[1]

As the Militia were enlisted for six weeks only, Maj.-Gen. Armstrong issued the following Division Order, Nov. 16, 1777, in relation to them:—

D. O. CAMP WHITE MARSH, Nov. 16, 1777.

A number of the Militia in the State Corps of Artillery commanded by Col. Jehu Eyre having served their Tour appointed by Law are now discharged. Col. Eyre will, therefore, immediately make return of the Residue of his Corps, also of the Arms, Blankets, and Camp Equipage belonging to the Public now remaining in Camp, also the number of teams Employed with the Militia of Pennsylvania, particularly showing the uses of which they are applied, and the Battalion of which they now belong, &c. &c. &c.

JOHN ARMSTRONG, *Maj.-Gen'l.*

Col. Eyre knowing that he could not return to Philadelphia, as it was in the possession of the British, persuaded his old company of Kensington Artillery to remain with him, which they did by re-enlisting for a few weeks longer under Jesse Williamson as Captain. Maj. Marsh remained with him, for in a report of Capt. Jesse Williamson's Co. of Militia Artillery, commanded by Col. Jehu Eyre, of Nov. 30, 1777, he returns present for duty: 1 Col., 1 Major, 1 Captain, 1 Capt.-Lieut., 1 Lieut., 1 Doctor, 1 Clerk, 12 M. Sergt., 3 Sergeants, 3 Corporals, 5 Gunners, 1 Drum and fife, 33 Matrosses, and 4 Matrosses turned out of the ranks as Carters. After the others were discharged, the following order was issued:—

[1] See Gen. Armstrong's Report to President Wharton from camp at Towamensing, Oct. 14, 1777.

D. O. Camp White Marsh, Nov. 21, 1777.

Col. Eyre commanding the Artillery of the State of Pennsylvania will immediately send to Allentown at least two of the Ammunition waggons and one Budge Cart, and all the ammunition belonging to the Two Iron Pieces, and as much of that fitted for the Brass six pounders as the Commanding officer shall think may be spared at present. A conductor is to be Present for the Careful delivery and storage of the ammunition, who will return on the delivery of those Stores to Col. Hagner or such other Persons as may have the care of the State Stores at that place.

Gen. Erwin[1] will furnish a Sergeant guard. The Horses and waggons are immediately to Return. Col. Bull will point out a proper Place ten or fifteen miles up the country, to which the two Iron Pieces are forthwith to be sent. The Conductor will apply to Col. Henry if at Allentown, or to State Armourer there, and by the Return waggons bring to Camp such repaired Arms and Accoutrements as are ready.

JOHN ARMSTRONG, *Maj.-Gen.*

He remained with the army in camp until January the 10th, 1778, when the time of his last Company which had re-enlisted was out. He then gave John Ogborn, the Capt.-Lieut., the sum of three hundred and fifty-eight pounds fifteen shillings pay for the Company.[2] Having now no command left, he withdrew from the army, and went to Burlington, N. J., where he had sent his wife and children on the occupation of Philadelphia by the Enemy.

His active spirit could not rest as long as there was an enemy near, and he immediately set about harassing them on the river Delaware. With this idea he formed a copartnership with Thomas Bradford, Paul Cox, Manuel Eyre, Commodore Hazelwood, James Longhead, and Joseph Blewer to purchase two guard Boats to run down the river privateering. On the 20th of Jan. 1778, he went to Trenton and got two boats, which he had hauled down to Burlington where he fitted them up for service, and by Feb. 2d, had them off on their duty. On the 30th of January, in company with James

[1] General James Irvine.

[2] The receipt is in my possession.—P. D. K.

Longhead, Samuel Massey, and William Miller, he purchased another boat for the same purpose.

He was busily employed with these vessels until April 23d, when he was engaged by the Congress to go to Easton and Reading to build boats for the rivers Delaware and Schuylkill.

July 1, 1778, he was placed in charge of the Boat Department for building the boats needed by the States in Philadelphia; which kept him employed until March of the next year. During that time he had four separate sets of ship's carpenters at work at different localities under their foremen,—one under Capt. Jacob Miller at Easton, one under Capt. Samuel Clinton at Reading, one under Capt. Wm. Bowers at Chester, and one in Philadelphia under Richard Salter. During all this time his Battalion of Artillery was kept intact, and he held the commission of Colonel commanding the same, ready to march at the call of the Executive Council of the State.

During the greater part of the year 1779 he was actively engaged with his Battalion commanding the fortifications on the Delaware, commencing in April as per following order:—

CITY OF PHILADA., Lieu't Office, April 23, 1779.

SIR: In Consequence of an Order from the Hon. Executive Council to me, You are hereby Required to call immediately into service, to relieve the Garrison at Mud Island and Billingsport, of Colonel Proctor's regiment now called into the Field for other service, Two Companies of Artillery.

I am yours, etc.,
WM. HENRY, *L't.*

To Col. JEHU EYRE, Esq.,
of the City Philad[a] & C'ty
Artillery Battalion.

On the receipt of this order he called into service the 1st Company, commanded now by Capt. John McGinley, formerly Capt. Massey, placing it in the works at Billingsport, and the 4th Company, now Capt. James Lang, formerly Capt. Ruper, which he stationed at Mud Island Fort, now Fort Mifflin, where they remained on duty until the last of August. Their services not being required any longer, he ordered them home. The expenses of the militia seem to have been borne by fines raised from those who did not serve, for in June the following letter was sent to Col. Eyre:—

PHILAD'A, 7th June, 1779.

SIR: As I am quite at a Loss, and will be necessitated to stop Collecting the Militia fines for want of The particular Returns of Each Company of your Artillery Batt^{n}, that is to say Fifty Privates, non Commissioned officers included & Four Commissioned officers agreeable to the Militia Law of this State. Therefore please to furnish me with the same as soon as possible, which will much oblige

Sir, your most humble Serv't,

WM. HENRY, *L't.*

In October, 1779, the militia were again called out to assist in the co-operation of the army with the fleet of Count D'Estaing, which was expected on the coast, and Col. Eyre again took the field.

During the year 1780 military operations were suspended in the north, and transferred to the Southern States; therefore the militia of the City and State were not called into service, and Col. Eyre remained home attending mainly to his business, for he had lost all but his real estate, the enemy having appropriated his effects during their occupation of the City and County in 1777 and 1778. In a memorandum of his losses sustained during that time while he was with his command in the army, he mentions—

	£	s.	d.
One Brig. 56 ft. keel, 24 ft. beam, nearly finished, value	550	0	0
One Ship, 80 ft. keel, 29 ft. beam "	260	0	0
Timber, plank, boards, tools, and furniture in his house, amounting to cost price	5582	0	0
Total loss of	6392	0	0

for which neither he nor his family ever received a farthing from the State or Government.

The vessels which he left on the stocks were finished and taken by the enemy, the timber, etc., being used for the repairing of their vessels.

From the hardships he had passed through, his health became impaired, and a chronic affection of the liver set in early in 1781 with severe attacks of jaundice, which carried him off in July of that year, at the early age of 43 years. He left a widow and five children—three sons, George, Jehu, and Franklin; two daughters, Sarah and Lydia.

He was a man of great energy and determination, with a very generous and hospitable disposition; whose love for his country was such that no sacrifice was too great for him to make.

He was a correct disciplinarian in business matters as well as in military affairs, as is shown by the careful diaries and accounts which he always kept. He and his family were regular attendants at Christ Church, Second Street above Market.

He held his position of Colonel commanding the Philadelphia Artillery until his death, and died honored and respected by all his fellow officers and citizens.

Colonel Eyre was buried, with the military honors belonging to his rank, in the Coates' family graveyard at the corner of Third and Brown Streets, and was followed to the grave by almost the whole of the population of Kensington, as well as by a number of persons from the city. In 1853 these grounds were sold, and his remains were removed to South Laurel Hill Cemetery, where they lie surrounded by those of his kindred, in a vault built for the purpose—designated only by the word "Eyre" over the door.

His sword, one of his epaulets, camp table and stool are now in the National Museum in Independence Hall.

RICHARD DOBBS SPAIGHT,

OF NORTH CAROLINA.

BY JOHN H. WHEELER.

(Centennial Collection.)

At the confluence of the Neuse and Trent Rivers in eastern North Carolina stands the venerable town of Newbern. Around this ancient metropolis are clustered many memories of rare interest. Its name was bestowed by the patriotic emigrants from Switzerland, in regard of the vine-clad hills of their native land.

Here landed in 1709 the Palatines from the Rhine, led on by the adventurous De Graffenreidt, whose sturdy valor and patient toil resisted the savage Tuskaroras, and caused "the wilderness to blossom as the rose." Here was the seat of the Royal Government; and here the Colony was directed by the prolonged and gentle rule of Governor Dobbs. Here, Governor Tryon, his successor, held his vice-regal court, and erected a palatial mansion, more spacious and ornate than any on this Continent at that period.

In this place Richard Dobbs Spaight, the subject of this sketch, was born, lived, and died.

The family was distinguished in the early history of North Carolina. His father, Richard, was one of the Governor's Council, appointed by the King. He was also Secretary of the Crown; and served in the army as Paymaster in Braddock's war; his mother was a sister of Governor Dobbs, a native of the county of Antrim, Ireland, and a descendant of Sir Richard Dobbs,[1] who was Lord Mayor of London in 1551.

Richard Dobbs Spaight, born 25th March, 1758, was left early an orphan. At the age of nine he was sent abroad to

[1] Maitland's History of London.

acquire an education, which was finished at the University of Glasgow, Scotland.

On his return to his native land, in 1778, he found the country involved in the Revolutionary War. He volunteered his services, and was at the battle of Camden, S. C. (16th Aug. 1780) as Aide-de-Camp to Governor Caswell.

The following year he was elected a member of the Legislature from the Borough of Newbern; and was re-elected in 1782 and 1783. By this body he was chosen a member of the Congress of the Confederation, which met at Annapolis on the 13th Dec. 1783, with Benjamin Hawkins and Hugh Williamson as colleagues. Here he witnessed the memorable scene of the resignation by General Washington of his commission, as Commander-in-Chief of the armies of America. The appreciation of the character of Mr. Spaight by this illustrious body was evinced by his selection as a member of "the Committee of States," in which body all the powers of the government were vested.[1]

When the Convention which formed the Constitution of the United States met in Independence Hall on the 14th of May, 1787, Mr. Spaight was present as a member with William Blount and Hugh Williamson as colleagues; and their names are appended to that instrument, as delegates from North Carolina. He was also elected a member of the State Convention which met at Hillsboro, N. C., on the 21st of July, 1788, to consider the Federal Constitution, and with all his energies he urged its adoption. In this he was supported by the efforts of Samuel Johnston, afterwards Governor, and member of the Continental Congress, as well as of the Senate of the United States; James Iredel, afterwards one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States; William R. Davie, afterwards Governor of North Carolina, and Envoy to France, and others. But the active opposition of Elisha Battle, David Caldwell, C. Dowed, Wilie Jones, and others caused its rejection. A subsequent

[1] Continental Congress from 1774 to 1781. Congress pursuant to the Articles of Confederation 1781 to 1788. Congress under Constitution 1789.

Convention, which met at Fayetteville on 21st Nov. 1788, ratified that instrument. From his long and arduous public service Mr. Spaight's health became so impaired that he retired for a time from public life, and sought repose in the milder climate of the West Indies. On his return home in 1792, he was elected a member of the Legislature, and by that body he was chosen Governor of the State, which distinguished position he held through the Constitutional term; and was succeeded by Samuel Ashe. While Governor, he served as Presidential Elector in 1793 and 1797.

He was elected a member of the House of Representatives in Congress, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Nathan Bryan, and took his seat on 10th Dec. 1798.

He was re-elected in 1799 to serve till 1801. This was a fearful epoch in the political history of the Republic. Never before or since, has party spirit been more active or virulent. Governor Spaight was one of the firmest and foremost of his day in supporting with his colleagues, Nathaniel Macon, Willis Alston, Governor Stone, and others, the leading measures of the Jeffersonian party. He was a candidate in 1801 and elected to the Legislature as Senator; in this contest he was violently opposed by the Hon. John Stanly and others. Mr. Stanly was elected a member of Congress after heated opposition by Gov. Spaight. As might be expected, the madding and malignant influences of party, embittered by personal animosity, rendered a collision inevitable. Mr. Stanly in a note dated Sunday, 5th Sept. 1802, challenged Gov. Spaight. They met and fought the same day, near the Presbyterian Church in the town of Newbern, and Gov. Spaight was killed.

This tragic termination of the life of so useful and so distinguished a citizen, caused a deep sensation throughout the State; and even at this distant day is remembered with mournful regrets.

Such is a brief, but careful and faithful sketch of the life, services, and death of Richard Dobbs Spaight.

As to his private character, one who knew him well and long, states, in a funeral discourse, as "a citizen he was up-

right, sincere, generous, and charitable; an affectionate husband, an indulgent Parent, a devoted and sincere friend."

By his marriage with Miss Polly Leach, a native of Holmesburg, Pa., he left two sons and one daughter. Charles, who was promising, died young without issue; Richard Dobbs, member of Congress 1823, Governor of North Carolina 1835, since dead, leaving no issue; Margaret, who married Judge John R. Donnel, who left four children, one of whom married Thomas N. Keere, of Baltimore.

Two portraits of Governor Spaight are preserved, and now hang in the National Museum in Independence Hall. One in crayon by Sharpless; the other by St. Memin.

WILLIAM PATERSON,

DELEGATE TO THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS FROM NEW JERSEY, 1780–81.

BY ABRAHAM MESSLER, D. D.

(Centennial Collection.)

William Paterson, Governor of New Jersey from 1790 until 1793, was the son of Richard Paterson, an emigrant from the north of Ireland, who is supposed to have landed in Philadelphia in 1747. He went first to Trenton and remained there until the spring of 1749; but settled finally at Princeton in May, 1750; remaining there engaged in mercantile and manufacturing industries until 1779, when he removed to Raritan, where he died 1781.

His eldest son William was, according to *tradition*, born at sea on the voyage to America. One authority seems to favor the idea that he was born before his parents emigrated to America in 1745; both favor the idea that he was not a native American.

His early education was obtained in Princeton. He graduated from Nassau Hall Sept. 27, 1763, and immediately commenced the study of law in the office of Richard Stockton,

and was admitted to the Bar in 1764, and to practise as an attorney-at-law in the Supreme Court at Burlington at the February term 1769. He removed soon after this occurrence to New Bromley, afterwards known as "Stilwell's Mills," one-half mile from Whitehaven, Hunterdon County. How long he remained there is not determined. He seems to have been often in Princeton, and participated to some extent in his father's business. His practice did not yield him much; and, it is said, he almost resolved to abandon the profession.

When the Revolution opened, he at once took an active part in public affairs, and advocated the patriotic cause. Accordingly in 1775 he was chosen one of the Delegates to the Provincial Congress of New Jersey. His associates were Kendrick Fisher, Jonathan D. Sergeant, and Frederick Frelinghuysen. This delegation was highly honored in this Congress, Kendrick Fisher was chosen President, Jonathan D. Sergeant Secretary, and William Paterson and Frederick Frelinghuysen Assistant Secretaries. When Mr. Sergeant was appointed Treasurer of the Province, William Paterson succeeded to the office of Secretary. In this office he continued until the formation of the State Constitution. This instrument of Government was adopted by the Assembly on the 2d of July, 1776, and continued to be the law of the State for nearly seventy years; Mr. Paterson declined, however, to vote for its adoption on account of the imperfections which he believed to exist in it, and the short time given to its consideration—an opinion which he never changed, and at the close of the century published a series of papers urging strongly its revision, or the formation of an entirely new instrument; affirming that the Constitution of 1776 was intended by its framers as only a temporary expedient.

Upon the organization of the State Government Wm. Paterson was appointed Attorney-General. He had been already elected as a member of the Legislative Council and commander of a regiment of infantry. He accepted the attorney-generalship, and had a principal share in the establishment of the State criminal courts. He found the office laborious and unpleasant, as it obliged him to travel through

the whole State, mostly on horseback; but the notes of his business remaining, show that he persevered nobly, attending the courts of every county in the State. He held office until the close of the war, and the acknowledgment of the independence of the United Colonies in 1783, when he resigned his office, and returned to the practice of the law. On the 13th of April, 1779, he purchased an estate, sold as confiscated property, on the north side of Raritan, consisting of more than 400 acres of excellent land, and opened an office for the practice of his profession.

In 1779, while residing at Raritan, he contracted marriage with Miss Cornelia Bell, of Perth Amboy. It was soon ended by her death Nov. 15, 1783, in the 28th year of her age. She left only two children: a daughter, Cornelia, who became the wife of General Stephen Van Rensellaer, the Patroon of Albany, and a son, William Bell Paterson, of Perth Amboy. Two years afterwards he again married Euphemia White, daughter of Col. Anthony White, of New Brunswick, who survived him for 26 years.

While he was living on his farm on the Raritan, he had in his office as students of law Aaron Burr, Gen. Morton of New York, Gov. Troup of Georgia, Churchill C. Houston, and Gen. Frederick Frelinghuysen, and at New Brunswick Chief-Justice Kirkpatrick. In the year 1783 he is said to have resigned his office of Attorney-General, and removed to New Brunswick.

When the Convention of 1787 which formed the Constitution met in Philadelphia, Wm. Paterson with Governor Livingston, Chief-Justice David Brearly, and Jonathan Dayton appeared as delegates from New Jersey. Abraham Clark and C. C. Houston, co-delegates, were prevented from being present. Seldom, if ever, has a wiser and more judicious assembly of men been convened for as great a purpose. George Washington was unanimously chosen as President. Two prominent plans of government claimed the attention of the members. One by Edmond Randolph, of Virginia, looking to a National Government and receiving the favor of the larger States. The other by Wm. Paterson, contem-

plating the preservation of the State Sovereignties, but giving sufficient power to the General Government to enable it to provide for the common defence and general welfare, and favored by the smaller. After a full discussion the question of representation was submitted to a Committee of one from each State. In this Committee Mr. Paterson represented New Jersey, and by his influence and argument was a principal instrument in preserving the State Sovereignties. He asserted that thirteen independent sovereignties never could form one nation, and that New Jersey would not have sent delegates to any assembly that would destroy the equality or rights of the States. Thus Mr. Paterson is entitled to the praise of having secured a government at once efficient in its sovereignty and popular in its separate State rights, and the Constitution framed on this idea finally received the signatures of 38 out of the 55 delegates—New Jersey was unanimous.

When the Government went into effect Wm. Paterson and Jonathan Elmer were chosen to the United States Senate from New Jersey, the former taking his seat March 19, 1789. He was chosen one of the tellers of the votes for President and Vice-President, and Chairman of a Committee to prepare the certificates of election. While in the United States Senate he always occupied a prominent position, and as Chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary had a large influence in giving efficiency to the Federal Courts.

Upon the death of Governor Wm. Livingston in 1790, Wm. Paterson was chosen by the Legislature as his successor, and became the second Governor of the State after its independence.

In 1792 a law was passed authorizing Mr. Paterson to collect and reduce into proper form all the statutes of England which before the Revolution were in force in the State of New Jersey, together with all the public Acts before and subsequent to the Revolution which remained in force; he completed this work after long delay, and published it under the title of "Laws of the State of New Jersey, revised and published under the Authority of the Legislature by Wm.

Paterson." A competent authority says of this work, that "it contained a system of law more perfect than that of any other State, and has continued to the present time to deserve the highest praise."

In March, 1793, Wm. Paterson was nominated by President Washington as a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and continued in this office until his death.

The opinions delivered by Paterson are said fully to sustain his reputation as an able jurist. He was known as "a small man, but every inch a judge." His last appearance in Court was in New York, April, 1806, on the trial of indictments against Samuel G. Ogden and William S. Smith for the violation of our neutrality laws, by aiding Miranda in his expedition against South America. His opinion affirmed that the facts alleged, if proved, would be no justification of the acts charged. The trial ended after he had left the Bench, in the acquittal of both the defendants.

His health declined rapidly, and on the 9th of September, 1806, he died at the Manor House in Albany, the home of his daughter, and his remains were interred in the family vault. Judge Paterson was tendered the office of Secretary of State, by President Washington on the retirement of Jefferson, and afterward that of Attorney-General.

Judge Paterson was not a professor of Christianity, but in his last hours the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered to him, and he expressed regret that he had not, during his life placed himself decidedly on the side of Christianity, in which he had been uniformly a sincere believer.

On the monument erected to his memory, in the cemetery adjoining the Presbyterian Church in the city of New Brunswick, is found the following inscription:—

WILLIAM PATERSON
died
In Albany, New York,
September 1806,
in the 62 year of his age,
and was buried in the Manor House Vault.

Renewed June, 1864.

The other sides have the following:—

CATHARINE BELL,
Wife of WILLIAM PATERSON,
died
November 15, 1783,
in the 28 year of her age.
She lies buried beneath this marble.

EUPHEMIA WHITE,
relict of
WILLIAM PATERSON,
died
January 29, 1822,
in the 86 year of her age.
She lies beneath this marble.

WILLIAM BELL PATERSON
died Perth Amboy
April 30, 1833,
in the 56 year of his age.
Buried in the Cemetery of St. Peter's Church.

CORNELIA PATERSON,
wife of
STEPHEN VAN RENSELLAER,
died in New York, Aug. 18, 1844,
in the 62 year of her age,
and was buried in the Manor House Vault,
Albany.

MAJOR-GENERAL JOSEPH SPENCER.

BY PROFESSOR BENJAMIN SILLIMAN.

(Centennial Collection.)

The French and Indian wars about the middle of the 18th century proved a training school for many military men, who found themselves in 1775–6 brought to face, in the opening days of the American Revolution, many of their old companions in arms, now their enemies, by the fortunes of war. Of such was General Joseph Spencer, of East Haddam, Connecticut, whose great-grandfather, Garrard Spencer, came from England to Newton, Mass., in 1634, and in 1662 was one of the twenty-eight original purchasers of Haddam from the Indians. The Spencers trace back their origin to the Althorp family in England. Some of the most famous men of the United States are descendants of the families of Garrard, and his brothers William, Thomas, and Michael.

General Spencer was in civil life until his appointment to the Northern Army as Major under Col. Nathan Whiting in 1758, during the second French War. In 1759–60 he was Lt.-Colonel, and acquired the reputation of a brave and efficient officer. His experience in military affairs was matured by the genial influence of the British officers with whom he shared the dangers and fatigues of laborious campaigns in the Provinces and upon Lake Champlain.

Returning to his peaceful civil life in the quiet of his beautiful home upon the Connecticut he served, from 1766 to 1789, on the Council of Magistrates or Assistants, who constituted the Upper House of Assembly, and were then the Supreme Court of the State, and leading men of their time.

The affair at Lexington and Concord in April, 1775, aroused an irrepressible ardor in Connecticut, and May the first found General Spencer at the head of the first regiment of Connecticut troop which arrived from that State. He was

stationed on Roxbury Heights, as part of the right wing of the American army, under General John Thomas. His adjutant was John Trumbull, younger son of the rebel Governor "Brother Jonathan," who witnessed from his position the battle of Bunker Hill, which he afterward commemorated in his well-known picture the "Death of General Warren," the original of which is in the New Haven Gallery, and the engraving by Müller of Stuttgart in so many collections.

General Spencer's sense of honor was so deeply wounded by the appointment of Putnam over him as Major-General by the Continental Congress in June, 1775, that he abruptly left his command without calling upon the Commander-in-Chief. General Washington, in his letter from the "Camp at Cambridge," of July 19 to the Congress respecting the complications he found existing among the officers of the American army near Boston, in consequence of appointments made at Philadelphia June 22, 1775, says, "General Spencer was so much disgusted at the preference given to General Putnam that he left the army without visiting me or making known his intentions in any respect." In spite of this grave breach of military etiquette, such was the high esteem in which General Spencer was held for his superior personal worth and meritorious services, alike by General Washington, Gov. Trumbull, the General Assembly of Connecticut, and the Continental Congress, that the latter body, August 9, 1776, conferred upon him a Major-General's commission. He was persuaded by the wise counsels of Governor Trumbull to return to his command, where he was "respected by his officers and beloved by his soldiers." General Spencer was much employed by Washington in special and confidential services.

We find him in the Council of War held at White Plains Nov. 6, 1776, with the General-in-Chief, and Major-Generals Lee, Putnam, Heath, Sullivan, and Lincoln in reference to the enemy's movements in New York.

General Spencer remonstrated against the evacuation of New York, which he believed could have been held.

On the 22d Dec. 1776, Washington writing from "Camp

above Falls of Trenton," directs Spencer to send forward all possible troops to defend Philadelphia against Howe's main army, deploring his own defenceless position. He was constantly on the alert to defend the Connecticut coast against the English cruisers.

He was with Sullivan's unfortunate expedition in Rhode Island in 1778, and resigned his commission because of an order of Congress to inquire into his conduct on that occasion.

Gen. Spencer has left us no record or diary of his life, and we glean the few facts we record mostly from other sources than his own pen. His public employments were very numerous, both local and general. In 1779 the Connecticut Assembly, "entertaining a high sense of his worth," sent him as a representative to Congress. In 1780 he was again elected into the Council of his State, and this annually during his life, which closed in 1789.

"Without the advantages of a regular and public education Gen. Spencer," says Dr. Field, "acquired that general knowledge and that acquaintance with business which enabled him to discharge happily and usefully the various duties to which he was called." He was an earnest Christian man.

General Spencer "married a daughter of the worshipful Mr. Brainerd," but left no descendants.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1776.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF ITS MEMBERS.

BY WM. H. EGLE, M.D.

(Continued from page 201.)

HARRIS, JOHN, of Cumberland County, the son of James Harris and Jennett McClure, was a native of the county of Donegal, Ireland, born in 1723. He emigrated to Pennsylvania early in life, and located among his friends in Lancaster County. About 1765 he removed to Cumberland County, settling on the Juniata in Fermanagh Township. He was one of the leading spirits at the meeting at Carlisle on July 12, 1774, called to express the sympathy of the freemen of Cumberland County for their oppressed brethren at Boston, and adopt measures for their relief. He was a member of the Provincial Conference which met at Carpenters' Hall, June 23, 1776, and of the subsequent Convention of July 15. He was appointed sub-lieutenant of the county March 12, 1777, and served as a member of the Assembly from 1777 to 1781. He acted as one of the commissioners which met at New Haven, Conn., November 22, 1777, for the purpose of regulating the price of commodities in the States. Although a slave-owner, he voted for the act for the gradual abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania, passed March 1, 1780. He was commissioned a justice of the peace February 6, 1779. About 1790, Mr. Harris owning 375 acres of land eligibly situated, laid out the town of Mifflin. He reserved grounds for public uses, now occupied by the court-house, and for the Presbyterian and Lutheran churches and graveyards. He died on the 28th of February, 1794, and lies interred in the Presbyterian burying ground at Mifflin. Mr. Harris was twice married; first to Jane Poer, and secondly to Jane Harris, a cousin. By the latter he had six children: *Jane* married James Patterson, son of Captain James Patterson; *Grizzel*,

James Knox of Mifflin; *Margaret*, John Stewart of Tuscarora; *Ann*, Samuel Bryson, an officer of the Revolution; *William*, who was a surveyor, died unmarried; *James* married Nancy Dunlap, one of whose daughters became the wife of Reverend James Linn, a Presbyterian clergyman, of Bellefonte.

Hart, John, of Chester County, the second son of Col. Joseph Hart, of Bucks County, was born at Warminster, November 29, 1743. He married, September 13, 1767, Rebecca Rees, of the Crooked Billet, and soon after removed to Chester County, where he purchased a mill and land near Old Church. He was a delegate to the Conference of the Provincial Deputies held July 15, 1774; member of the Convention of July 15, 1776, and appointed justice of the peace July 25, 1777. Owing to his warm espousal of the cause of the Colonies he was so persecuted by the Tories in 1778 that he was obliged to leave his mill, and return to Bucks County, where he spent the remainder of his life. In the spring of 1779 he succeeded Henry Wynkoop as treasurer of the county of Bucks, and was one of the victims of the Doane robberies in October, 1781. He died at Newtown, on the 5th of June, 1786, at the age of 43.

Hart, Joseph, of Bucks County, a descendant of John Hart and Eleanor Crispin, who were Quaker immigrants from Oxfordshire, England, under William Penn, and who settled in Bucks County, was born in Warminster Township in 1715. At the age of twenty-five he married Elizabeth Collet, of Byberry. Inheriting the ancestral plantation in Warminster, he devoted his time principally to agricultural pursuits. His first appearance in public life was his appointment as Ensign in Capt. Henry Corson's Company, Associated Regiment of Bucks County of the Provincial service, 1747–8. He was sheriff of the county in 1749; and in 1755 assisted in founding the Hatboro' Library. He was a justice of the peace from 1764 to 1776; a member of the Provincial Conference at Carpenters' Hall, June 18, 1776; member of the Convention of July 15, 1776; chairman of the Bucks County Committee from 1774 to

1776; and a member of the Council of Safety from October to December 1777. He was Colonel of a Battalion of Associators, and in active service in the Jerseys during the summer of 1776. He was a member of the Supreme Executive Council from July 23, 1777, to March, 1780; lieutenant of the county, March 29, 1780; member of the Council of Censors Oct. 20, 1783, and subsequently register of wills and recorder of deeds, and judge of the Court of Common Pleas. Col. Hart died at his residence in Warminster, the 25th of February, 1788, at the age of 72 years. His eldest son, *Joseph* Hart, was prominent in official life. His second son was *John* Hart, previously noted.

Hay, John, of York County, was born in Alsace, then in France, about 1733. His father, John Hay, was a native of Scotland, who, owing to the religious persecutions, emigrated to the Province of Alsace, subsequently coming to America, bringing with him four sons, who settled in Philadelphia, Northampton, and York Counties, Pennsylvania, and in Virginia. John Hay, of York County, was naturalized April 11, 1760. He was one of the Provincial magistrates; a commissioner of the county from 1772 to 1775; member of the Committee of Correspondence to send aid to the people of Boston in 1774; of the Provincial Convention, June 23, 1775; First Lieut. in Col. James Smith's Battalion of Associators, Dec. 1775; member of the Provincial Conference which met at Carpenters' Hall, June 18, 1776; and of the Convention of July 15, called by that body. He was appointed sub-lieutenant of the county March 12, 1777, resigning to accept the office of treasurer in 1778, filling that position almost uninterruptedly until 1801. He represented York County in the Assembly in 1779, 1782, 1783, and 1784. Col. Hay was the owner of a large tract of land in the immediate vicinity of York, part of which subsequently became incorporated into the town, and known as "Hay's Addition." Some of it is yet owned by his descendants. He died in April, 1810. His son, *Jacob*, was a corporal in Moylan's cavalry regiment of the Revolution.

Hiester, Gabriel, of Berks County, the son of Daniel Hiester and Catharine Shuler, natives of Witzenstein, Westphalia, was born in Bern Township, Berks County, Penn'a, June 17, 1749; he was brought up as a farmer, and previous to the Revolution all his energies were devoted to his early calling; he was chosen a member of the Convention of July 15, 1776, and from that time onward was in almost continuous public life; he served as a major of militia during the campaign of 1776–7; was appointed one of the justices of the Courts of Common Pleas April 24, 1778, and served as a member of the Assembly with the exception of two or three years from 1778 to 1790. Under the Constitution adopted the latter year, he was chosen a member of the House of Representatives in 1791, and again from 1802 to 1804; he was elected Senator from the district comprising Berks and Dauphin Counties in 1795 and 1796, and from 1805 to 1812; in 1801 he was chosen one of the Presidential electors from Penn'a. Mr. Hiester died on the ancestral farm in Bern Township September 1, 1824. About 1773 he married Elizabeth Bausman, born September 12, 1751; she died May 8, 1832. Mr. Hiester was the brother of Col. Daniel Hiester of Montgomery County, and Col. John Hiester of Chester County, and cousin of Capt. Joseph Hiester of Berks County, Governor of Pennsylvania, all prominent men during the Revolutionary era.

Hill, Henry, of the county of Philadelphia, the son of Richard Hill, was born in 1732 at his father's plantation in Maryland; he was bred a merchant, and settled in Philadelphia where he carried on an extensive trade with Madeira, to which island his father, a wealthy member of the Society of Friends, had removed about the year 1750. "Hill's Madeira" was long known as one of the choicest brands in the Philadelphia market. Mr. Hill was appointed one of the justices for Philadelphia in 1772; was a member of the Provincial Conference which met at Carpenters' Hall June 18, 1775, and member of the Convention of July 15, 1776; he commanded that year a battalion of Associators during the

campaign in the Jerseys. In 1780 he subscribed £5000 to the relief of the Continental army; he served as a member of the Assembly from 1780 to 1784, and of the Supreme Executive Council from October 17, 1785, to October 17, 1788. Col. Hill died at Philadelphia of yellow fever on the 16th of September, 1798; he married, at Christ Church, in 1770, Ann, daughter of Reese Meredith, and sister of Brig. Gen. Samuel Meredith, who was Treasurer of the United States 1789–90, and of the wife of George Clymer, signer of the Declaration of Independence.

Hoge, Jonathan, of Cumberland County, was a native of the north of Ireland, of Scotch ancestry, born July 23, 1725; his parents emigrated to America about 1735, and located in what is now East Pennsboro' Township, Cumberland County, Penn'a; received a liberal education, and was brought up as a farmer. He held the office of justice of the peace from 1764 until the Revolution; was a member of the Convention of July 15, 1776; member of the Assembly in 1776, and again from 1778 to 1783; member of the Supreme Executive Council from March 4, 1777, to November 9, 1778, and from November 3, 1784, to October 20, 1787; member of the Council of Safety from October to December 1777; one of the Commissioners to remove the public loan offices in September, 1777; one of the Committee to superintend the drawing of the Donation Land Lottery October 2, 1786; member of the Board of Property in 1785–6; and by Governor Mifflin appointed one of the associate judges of Cumberland County August 17, 1791. Judge Hoge died of paralysis, at his residence on the 19th of April, 1800.

Hubley, John, of Lancaster County, was born in the borough of Lancaster on the 25th of December, 1747; he studied law in the office of Edward Shippen, and was admitted to practise in 1769; he was a member of the Convention of July 15, 1776; member of the Committee of Safety from July 24, 1776, to March 13, 1777; Commissary of Continental Stores, with the rank of major, January 11, 1777; and prothonotary

of Lancaster County March 22, 1777; he was a member of the Supreme Executive Council, but resigned in the spring of 1777 for the reason that he was engaged in superintending the erection of a powder-house and storehouse; he was commissioned a justice of the peace August 12, 1777, and appointed register of wills and recorder to fill a vacancy Oct. 11, 1777; and one of the commissioners which met at New Haven November 22, 1777, for the purpose of regulating the price of commodities in the Colonies. On December 16, 1777, the Assembly appointed him one of the Commissioners to take subscriptions for the Continental Loan. Major Hubley was on the Committee to supply the army with blankets in 1778, and during that year was a captain in Col. James Ross's battalion. He was a member of the Convention of 1787 which framed the Constitution of the United States, and of the subsequent Pennsylvania Convention to consider that instrument; he was also a member of the State Constitutional Convention of 1789–90, and commissioned prothonotary of Lancaster County August 17, 1791. For many years he was a trustee of Franklin College, and his whole life was an active and a busy one; he died at Lancaster on the 21st of January, 1821.

Hunter, Daniel, of Berks County, was born in Oley Township, in that county, about 1729; his parents were emigrants from Germany, and named Yeager, the name being changed to its English synonym by an Act of the Provincial Assembly. Upon the formation of the Berks County Committee at the beginning of the Revolution Mr. Hunter took an active part in public affairs; he was a member of the Provincial Conference of June 18, 1776, and of the Convention of July 15 following. He was appointed by the Penn'a War Office one of the Commissioners to procure blankets for the Continental army May, 1777, and paymaster of the militia August 25, 1777. He was elected to the General Assembly in 1782, and while in attendance on that body he was taken ill, returned home, and died in the latter part of February, 1783.

Jacobs, John, of Chester County, was descended from a Quaker family who settled on Perkiomen Creek in Providence Township, Philadelphia, now Montgomery County, about the year 1700; his father and grandfather, natives of Germany, bore the same name, and in 1721 the former was married to Mary, daughter of Richard and Elizabeth (Lewis) Hayes of Haverford. The eldest child, the subject of this sketch, was born 3 mo. 6th, 1722. In 1752 John Jacobs settled in Whiteland Township, Chester County, having purchased several contiguous farms in the Great Valley. From 1762 to 1776 he served as a member of the Assembly, being Speaker of that body during the latter year; was a member of the Convention of July 15, 1776; and in 1777 one of the Commissioners which met at New Haven to regulate the price of commodities in the Colonies. He died in May, 1780. On the 3d of 1st mo., 1753, Mr. Jacobs married Elizabeth, daughter of John Havard of Tredyfferin, by whom he had four children. His eldest, *Benjamin*, received a good education, studied law, and practised surveying and conveyancing, and was appointed under the Constitution of 1776 an associate judge of the Court of Common Pleas. Mr. Jacobs's eldest sister, Elizabeth, born in 1732, became the wife of Col. Caleb Parry, who was killed at the battle of Long Island.

Jones, Thomas, Jr., of Berks County, the son of Thomas Jones, was born in Heidelberg Township, in that county, in the year 1742; his ancestors came from Wales among the earliest of the Penn'a settlers. At the beginning of the Revolution Mr. Jones assisted in organizing the Associators of Berks County, and was in active service as major of one of the battalions. He was a member of the Convention of July 15, 1776, the only civil office he ever held. He died on his farm in Heidelberg Township March, 1800.

Keller, John, of Bucks County, son of Henry Keller, was a native of Haycock Township, in that county, born about 1735. He was a farmer, a member of the Convention of July 15, 1776, and served in the General Assembly from 1776 to

1779; he was an active partisan, and commanded a Bucks County battalion of Associators under Gen. John Lacey during the campaign of 1778. Like many other Pennsylvania worthies, we have of him but a meagre biographical record. It is probable he died about the close of the Revolution.

Kelly, John, of Northumberland County, the son of John Kelly, was born in Donegal Township, Lancaster County, Penn'a, in February, 1744; after the Indian purchase of 1768, he settled in the Buffalo Valley, enduring all the hardships of pioneer life. At the age of twenty-seven he was a captain and major on the frontiers, and at the outset of the Revolution was ready for the conflict; he was a member of the Convention of July 15, 1776, and subsequently entered the army, having previously assisted in organizing the Associators, being appointed major in Col. James Potter's battalion. After the battle of Princeton, when Cornwallis by a forced march arrived at Stony Brook, Gen. Washington sent an order to Col. Potter to destroy the bridge at Worth's Mills in sight of the advancing British. Col. Potter ordered Major Kelly to make a detail for that purpose, but the latter said he would not order another to do what some might say he was afraid to do himself; he took a detachment and went to work. The enemy opened upon him a heavy fire of round shot; before all the logs were cut off, several balls struck the log on which he stood, and it breaking down sooner than he expected, he was precipitated into the stream; his party moved off, not expecting him to escape. By great exertions he reached the shore, through the high water and floating timbers, and followed the troops. Encumbered as he was with his wet and frozen clothes, he succeeded in making prisoner an armed British scout, and took him into camp. During the summer of 1777, Col. Kelly commanded on the frontier, and continued in that service almost to the close of the Revolution. The record of his adventures during those troublesome times reads like a romance. Col. Kelly was appointed agent for confiscated estates May 6, 1778, and in 1780 was chosen to the Assembly. He was a magistrate of the county from August 2, 1785, for upwards of twenty years; he died

February 8, 1832, aged eighty-eight years. Col. Kelly left a large family of children—one of whom, *James K. Kelly*, recently represented the State of Oregon in the United States Senate.

Kirkbride, Joseph, of Bucks County, the son of Joseph Kirkbride and Sarah Fletcher, and grandson of Joseph who came to America in 1681, was a native of the county, born 13th 6th mo., 1731 O. S. He was one of the deputies to the Provincial Convention of July 15, 1774, and a member of the Convention of July 15, 1776; he served in the General Assembly from 1776 to 1778; and subsequently was lieutenant of the county. He commanded one of the associated battalions, and owing to his zeal in the cause of Independence the British burned his handsome mansion in their marauds in 1778. Col. Kirkbride died at Bordentown, N. J., on 26th day of October, 1803. See also Penna. Mag., vol. ii. p. 292.

Kuhl, Frederick, of the city of Philadelphia, was a native thereof. He was chosen a member of the Committee of Inspection August 16, 1775, the district under his care being from the south side of Vine Street to the north side of Arch Street. He was one of the managers of the American Manufactory. In the spring of 1776 he was nominated for the Assembly, but was defeated by a few votes, owing to the success of the conservative party. He was chosen a member of the Convention of July 15, 1776, and by that body appointed one of the justices of the peace for the State. He served faithfully as a member of the Council of Safety, and Marshall speaks of him as an active citizen. In 1784 he was elected to the General Assembly, and in 1791 was one of the trustees of the University of Pennsylvania. He died at Philadelphia.

(To be continued.)

(9 lines illegible)

THE DESCENDANTS OF JÖRAN KYN, THE FOUNDER OF UPLAND.

BY GREGORY B. KEEN.

(Continued from page 341.)

KEEN—YEATES—MCCALL—CARPENTER—KING.

33. MOUNCE KEEN,[4] son of Maons and Magdalen (Hoffman) Keen, was born in West New Jersey, August 18, 1715, and married Sarah, daughter of Benjamin and Christina Seeley. He resided in Pilesgrove Township, Salem Co., N. J., and afterwards removed to Woolwich Township, Co. Gloucester. He was for many years a Vestryman of Swedesborough Swedish Church. His will is dated May 31, 1794; in it he makes a bequest to "Sweedsborough Church," and appoints his "friends, Gideon Denny* and Henry Shute, of Woolwich Township," executors. His wife was buried in Trinity Churchyard, Swedesboro, N. J., February 24, 1790. He was interred there, also, October 14, 1794. They had eight children, born in West New Jersey:

95. SEELEY, b. May 2, 1738; probably d. young, or s. p.
96. MOSES, b. March 21, 1740; probably d. young, or s. p.
97. JOHN, b. July 4, 1742; probably d. young, or s. p.
98. NICHOLAS, b. December 24, 1744; m., 1st, Catharine Miller; 2dly, Mary.
99. BENJAMIN, b. February 7, 1747; commissioned June 4, 1783, Lieutenant in Captain Platt's Company, Second Battalion, Cumberland County, New Jersey Militia; d. probably s. p.
100. SARAH, b. about 1752; m. (Raccoon Swedish Church Register), October 30, 1771, Abraham Richmond, of Salem County, N. J.
101. ISAIAH, b. about 1756; m. Elizabeth Denny, whom he survived.
102. ANANIAS, b. July 31, 1760; m., 1st, Susanna Lock; 2dly, Anna Cox.

* Major Gideon Denny, son of Thomas Denny, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Peter and Christine (Keen) Rambo, referred to in a previous foot-note.

34. John Keen,[4] son of Maons and Magdalen (Hoffman) Keen, was born in West New Jersey, September 25, 1718, and married (Raccoon Swedish Church Register), February 18, 1742, Rachel, daughter of John and Christina Chandler, of Greenwich Township, Salem Co., N. J. He resided in Pilesgrove Township, Salem Co., N. J., in 1747; and dates his will in Hopewell Township, Co. Cumberland, December 31, 1781, admitted to probate March 3, 1784, when his wife was still alive. He had, at least, nine children, born in West New Jersey:

103. Christian, b. December 6, 1742.
104. Hannah.
105. Mary, bapt. June 21, 1745. "The act was performed," says the Rev. Abraham Reincke in his private record, "in the parsonage in Raccoon."
106. Jeremiah, executor (conjointly with his mother) of his father's will.
107. John.
108. Jacob, m. (bond dated March 29, 1779) Sarah Mulford, of Cumberland County, N. J.
109. Rachel.
110. Sarah.
111. Catharine.

35. Nicholas Keen,[4] son of Maons and Magdalen (Hoffman) Keen, was born in West New Jersey, May 11, 1720, and lived, at least till 1747, in Pilesgrove Township, County Salem. He married Elizabeth Lock, a descendant of the Reverend Lars Carlsson Loock, a native of Finland, for forty years Lutheran pastor of the Swedish Colony on the Delaware.* He was

* The Reverend Mr. Loock, or Lock, came to America with the seventh expedition from Sweden, on the ship *Svanen*, Captain Steffen Willemsen, which sailed from Gottenburg, September 25, 1647. He had been preceded in his ministry to the colony by the Rev. Reorus Torkillus, of West Gothland, who came with Minuit or Hollender, and died at Christina, September 7, 1643, and the Rev. Israel Holgh, who left for Sweden in June, 1644; and relieved the Rev. John Campanius, of Stockholm, who sailed for his native country on the return-voyage of the Swan, May 16, 1648. He was accompanied by the Rev. Israel Fluviander (possibly the same person as Holgh), who, however, presently went home, leaving him sole pastor till the arrival in May, 1655, of the large colony under Governor Rising. With this officer came two clergymen, Matthias Nicolai Nertunius (who had embarked in the

buried in the Swedish Lutheran Cemetery on Raccoon Creek, New Jersey, August 25, 1763. Children:

112. Catharine, b. April 4, 1747; m., 1st, James Steelman; 2dly, Ephraim Seeley.

113. Rebecca, b. May 4, 1762.

36. Peter Keen,[4] son of Maons and Elizabeth (Laican) Keen, was born in West New Jersey, March 21, 1723, and

unfortunate eighth expedition with Commander Hans Amundsson, which sailed from Gottenburg on the ship *Kattan*, July 3, 1649, but never reached its place of destination), who seems to have been the first minister who resided at Upland, and Petrus Laurentii Hjort, described in Rising's "*Relation*" as "both temporally and spiritually a poor parson," who took charge of the congregation at Trinity Fort. During this year Lock was accused of "bribery" or "corruption," details not given, and would have been sent to Sweden, "to defend and clear himself," had he not fallen "dangerously ill." Nertunius and Hjort returned home with Rising, in the beginning of November, 1655; and another clergyman, "Herr Matthias," who came out with the tenth and last Swedish expedition, in the *Mercurius*, in March, 1656, went back on the same vessel, reaching Gottenburg by the following September. From this time Mr. Lock had exclusive care of the religious welfare of the colony, officiating, alternately, in the church at Tinicum, in the fort at Christina, and, from 1667, in the little building erected that year at Crane Hook, until the arrival in the spring of 1677 of the Rev. Jacobus Fabritius, a Dutch clergyman, from New York, when he confined his services to the latter congregation. He resided, at first, no doubt, on Tinicum Island, afterwards, however, adjoining Jöran Kyn, at Upland, and finally, in 1676, within the jurisdiction of the Court of New Castle. In 1675 he acquired three hundred and fifty acres of land, formerly Olof Stille's, on the west bank of the Delaware, east of the present Ridley Creek, which was sold, however, by his heirs immediately upon his death. He was sometimes severely dealt with by the courts upon the river, and incurred suspicion of promoting the noted insurrection of the "Long Finn" in 1669, in consequence, it may be, of his nationality. He was married twice, but not altogether happily. "His old age was burthened," says Acrelius, "with many troubles. Finally, he became too lame to help himself, and still less the churches, and, therefore, he did no service for some years until his death in 1688. He left behind him many of his name in Rapapo, all Swedish men, honest in word and deed, who brought up their children in the Lutheran doctrine, and within the Swedish Church." Besides the alliance mentioned in the text, another of this clergyman's descendants, Susanna Lock, m. (v. l.) Nicholas Keen's nephew, Ananias Keen, and a third, Zebulon Lock, son of Gustaf and Maria Lock, b. July 4, 1723, m. (Raccoon Swedish Church Register), February 12, 1755, Magdalena, daughter of Jonas Keen, of Gloucester County, N. J., b. February 13, 1734.

married a member of the Society of Friends, whose name has not come down to us. After her death he married Catharine (her surname unknown), born May 23, 1742. In his will he describes himself as of Pilesgrove Township, Co. Salem, N. J. The instrument is dated September 29, 1788, and was admitted to probate July 29, 1789. His second wife survived him.

By his first wife he had three children:

114. Elijah, b. October 22, 1748; m.
115. Peter, b. August 27, 1752; m.
116. Daniel, b. April 15, 1755; m. Mary Hoffman.

By his second wife he had two children:

117. Elizabeth, b. April 3, 1762; m. Samuel Bassett, son of Samuel Bassett, of Salem County, N. J.
118. Sarah, b. February 8, 1768; m. William Bassett, her sister's brother-in-law.

42. George Yeates,[4] son of Jasper and Catharine (Sandelands) Yeates, was born in Pennsylvania April 5, 1695. He spent his boyhood at Upland, and accompanied his parents in their removal to New Castle. Here he continued to reside after his father's death, on Mr. Yeates's plantation below New Castle, bequeathed to him by his father; and he afterwards acquired from his brother Jasper several hundred acres of contiguous land, on the west side of Mill Creek, reaching to New Castle, the remainder of their father's large estate in that vicinity, besides part of the "Town's Marsh," and lots at the south end of the town bought by Jasper Yeates, senior, of Gov. Markham. He was a "farmer," styled, also, in civil records "gentleman." He married Mary, younger daughter of Major John Donaldson, who emigrated from Galloway, Scotland, and settled as a merchant at New Castle, becoming a Justice of the Peace and Judge of the Provincial Court, and Representative of New Castle County in the Assembly, as well as Member of the Provincial Council.* Mrs. Yeates's

* Appointed February 5, 1694–5, by order of Gov. Fletcher, and returned as the representative of New Castle County by the popular vote in May, 1698. A letter addressed to him by William Penn is printed in the account of Robert French.

mother was Elizabeth, daughter of Lucas Rodenburg, Vice-Director of the island of Curaçoa from about 1646 until his death in 1657, by his wife Catrina, daughter of Roelof Jansen and Anneke Jans, and, at the time of her marriage with Mr. Donaldson, widow of Ephraim Georgius Herman,* eldest son of Augustine Herman, and second Lord of Bohemia Manor, uncle to Ephraim Augustine Herman, who married George Yeates's cousin-german, Isabella Trent. Mrs. Yeates was baptized in New York, July 1, 1696. She inherited by her father's will† all Major Donaldson's "land, marsh, and improvements in and adjoining to the town of New Castle," which she parted with, however, not long after her marriage with Mr. Yeates. She survived her husband, letters of administration on his estate being granted to her July 23, 1747. Mr. and Mrs. Yeates had eight children, born on their plantation near New Castle:‡

119. Jasper, b. July 4, 1720; d. s. p. before September, 1767.
120. John, b. February, 1722; m., 1st, Ann Catharine Ross; 2dly, Ann Bonner.
121. Mary, b. February 18, 1724; d. s. p. before her father.
122. Catharine, b. February 4, 1726; m. James Corrie.
123. David, b. June 22, 1728; d. s. p. about 1770.

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* Bapt. in the Dutch Church in New Amsterdam, September 1, 1652. In 1673 he was Clerk in the Office of the Secretary of State at New York; and in 1676 was appointed Clerk of the Courts of Upland and New Castle, in 1677 Clerk of the Customs and Receiver of Quit Rents within the jurisdiction of those Courts, and in 1680 Surveyor for the Counties of New Castle and St. Jones. He became a Labadist, but, almost in exact fulfilment of his father's malediction, that he might not live two years after joining the community, was taken sick, lost his mind, and died in 1689. Mrs. Herman (afterwards Mrs. Donaldson) seems to have been a favourite with the followers of Labadie, and is spoken of by Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter as having "the quietest disposition we have observed in America," and as being "politely educated."

† Dated February 12, 1701–2, and admitted to probate the 8th of the following April. One of the executors named in it was Robert French, second husband of Mary Sandelands, George Yeates's maternal aunt.

‡ The dates of birth of Mr. Yeates's children (no doubt O. S.), and some information with respect to their descendants, have been most politely furnished the writer by George Yeates Wethered, Esq., of Baltimore.

124. Donaldson, b. February 12, 1729; m. Mary Syng.
125. Elizabeth, b. February 10, 1731; m. James Lathim.
126. Ann, b. September 8, 1736; d. s. p. after July, 1767.

43. Anne Yeates,[4] daughter of Jasper and Catharine (Sandelands) Yeates, was born in Pennsylvania, December 27, 1697. She passed her girlhood in Upland, and was yet a young maiden when her father removed his family to New Castle. Here she was married, in the nineteenth year of her age, not quite four years before the death of Mr. Yeates, August 9, 1716, to George McCall, a native of Scotland, somewhat her senior, son of Samuel McCall, a wealthy merchant of Glasgow, by a daughter of Robert Dundas, of Arniston, county Midlothian, an eminent lawyer and Judge of the Court of Session, grandfather of Henry Dundas, first Viscount Melville.* At the time of his nuptials Mr. McCall resided in Philadelphia, where he became engaged as a merchant. He was elected a member of the Common Council of our city October 3, 1722. At a meeting of the Provincial Council, held October 10, 1724, he was appointed, with other "persons of Credit and Reputation, Skilled in maritime and mercantile affairs," to settle the accounts of certain shipwrecked mariners with the owners of the goods "imported" by them. In 1727 his name appears attached to a "Petition of divers Merchants" of Philadelphia to Governor Gordon, setting forth evils likely to result to trade from the passage by the General Assembly of an Act "to prevent unfair practices in the packing of Beef and Pork for Exportation;"†

* The connection with the family of Dundas is mentioned in Burke's *Landed Gentry* (ed. 1846), which contains the statement, that a granddaughter of Samuel McCall "m. William Herring, Esq., of Croydon, cousin and co-heir of Thomas Herring, Archbishop of Canterbury, and by him was mother of Henrietta, wife of Sir Francis Baring, Bart., and mother of [the first] Lord Ashburton." If this be true, we have a rather curious instance of intermarriage between remote relations, since Anne Bingham, the wife of Baron Ashburton, was a great-great-granddaughter of George and Anne (Yeates) McCall. The edition of the work just cited published in 1871 gives the arms borne by a Scottish descendant of Samuel McCall.

† *Pennsylvania Archives*, vol. i. pp. 203–4.

also, in 1730, to an agreement of the principal merchants and business men of the city to take the paper money of New Castle and the Lower Counties at *par*.* Mr. McCall was fortunate in his commercial enterprises, and by degrees acquired a goodly quantity of real estate in the city and county of Philadelphia, chiefly on Front and Union Streets, and in the vicinity of his store and wharf at Plum Street, including a tract of a hundred acres of land in Passyunk Township, called "Chevy Chase," with meadows by Hollander's Creek near Moyamensing; besides five hundred acres of "Lottery land" on Dry Swamp, in Bucks County, and a "plantation" of three hundred acres near Crosswick's Creek in West New Jersey. On the 20th of June, 1735, he bought from the Honorable John Penn the Proprietary's Manor of Gilberts (indicated on Holme's *Map of Pennsylvania*) (afterwards reconveying to the latter three-fourths of a copper mine embraced in it), to which he gave the name of Douglass Manor.† Mr. McCall paid two thousand guineas for it, and the tract, containing fourteen thousand and sixty acres of land, is succinctly bounded in the grant as follows: "Beginning at a Corner of the Germans' Tract of Land, the said Corner being on the Bank of the River Skuylkill, and on the East side thereof, and extending by said Land North 40 degrees East 3420 perches to a hickory tree near the West Branch of Peckiomie [Perkiomen] Creek; thence crossing said Branch North 50 degrees West 620 perches; thence South 40 degrees West 3840 perches to the aforesaid River; and thence down by the same on the several courses 840 perches to the place of beginning." This property, at that time within the

* Mr. Thompson Westcott's *History of Philadelphia*, chap. lxxxvii.

† It may be worth while to note that the title to this large estate was the subject of a private bill, passed by the Assembly of the Province, June 24, 1735, "for the more effectual" vesting of it in the grantee—an Act complained of afterwards by that very captious body, in the time of Governor Morris. (See *Minutes of the Provincial Council*, vol. iii. *in loco*, and vol. vi. p. 235.) The re-survey of Gilberts Manor as 4095 acres, given in *The Historical Map of Pennsylvania*, published by the Historical Society, is obviously incorrect.

limits of Philadelphia, now part of Montgomery, County, "comprised the whole of the present Township of Douglass, and all west of a continuation of the Douglass and New Hanover line to the Schuylkill, which, therefore, included the upper portion of Pottsgrove, and about one-third of the Borough of Pottstown. . . . Down to 1760 all of the old Hanover Township, now known as the Township of Douglass, was commonly called McCall's Manor." "It contained, in 1741, 58 taxables."* Fully ten years before the date of this purchase, in company with Anthony Morris, George McCall had erected an iron forge (called "McCall's Forge" on Nicholas Scull's *Map of Pennsylvania* of 1759) at Glasgow, on Manatawny Creek, which was supplied with pig iron from Colebrookdale furnace, and superintended on their behalf in 1725 by Thomas Potts, Jr. Not long after his acquisition of this estate, McCall engaged Mr. Scull to survey plantations on a certain part of it, for which he permitted his five sons then living to draw lots. Mr. McCall was a member of Christ Church, in Philadelphia, and in 1718 tenant of the parsonage-house. He was a Vestryman of the congregation from 1721 to 1724, and a liberal contributor to the rebuilding of the church-edifice in 1739. He died October 13, 1740, and was buried the 15th in Christ Church Ground, at Fifth and Arch Streets. The following obituary notice of him appeared in *The Pennsylvania Gazette* of the current week: "Philadelphia. Last Monday Evening died, after a long Indisposition, Mr. George McCall, a considerable Merchant of this City, who in his Dealings justly acquired the Character of an honest, sincere, disinterested, worthy Man; and with these good qualifications, better known to his Intimates and Relations, to be a warm Friend, a tender Husband, an affectionate Father, and a kind Master, whom he has left in the utmost Concern, all sensible of their irreparable Loss." Mrs. McCall survived her husband, and was buried in Christ Church Ground January 16, 1746–7. Portraits of Mr. and Mrs. McCall, painted, it is believed, by Hesselius, are in the

* Buck's *History of Montgomery County*, ed. 1876.

possession of the Hon. Peter McCall, of Philadelphia; they show much talent on the part of the artist, and, particularly in that of Mrs. McCall (which is kit-cat in size), display peculiar elegance of carriage and dress on the part of the subjects.* Mr. and Mrs. McCall had fourteen children:

127. Catharine, m. John Inglis.
128. Jasper, m. Magdalen Kollock.
129. Anne, b. April 7, 1720; m. Samuel McCall.
130. Samuel, b. October 5, 1721; m., 1st, Anne Searle; 2dly, Mary Cox.
131. William, bapt. May 1, 1723; bur. in Christ Church Ground, March 6, 1728–9.
132. George, b. April 16, 1724; m. Lydia Abbott.
133. Mary, b. March 31, 1725; m. William Plumsted.
134. Archibald, b. June 28, 1727; m. Judith Kemble.
135. Margaret, bapt. August 20, 1729, aged one month; bur. in Christ Church Ground, March 14, 1730–1.
136. Margaret, b. April 6, 1731; m. Joseph Swift.
137. Eleanor, b. July 8, 1732; m. Andrew Elliot.
138. William, b. December 12, 1733; bur. in Christ Church Ground, May 15, 1736.
139. Jane, bapt. May 28, 1737, aged 4 months; bur. *ibid.* January 11, 1739–40.
140. William, bapt. February 10, 1738–9, aged 6 months; bur. *ibid.* February 15, 1738–9.

44. Mary Yeates,[4] daughter of Jasper and Catharine (Sandelands) Yeates, was born at Upland, December 4, 1701, and accompanied her parents to New Castle. She inherited her father's "plantation near the town of Chester," bought by Mr. Yeates of David Lloyd and Caleb Pusey, as well as Mr. Yeates's "one-half of the Milns at Naaman's Creek," with his "share of the lands," and so forth, "thereunto belonging." In 1719 she married Samuel Carpenter, son of Joshua Carpenter, an Englishman who settled in Philadelphia soon after the arrival of William Penn, and followed the occupation of brewer, rated the richest inhabitant of the town in 1693 next

* For information with regard to Mr. McCall and family the writer is greatly indebted to the very courteous assistance of Charles A. McCall, M.D., of Philadelphia.

to his brother Samuel.* Mr. Joshua Carpenter was the first Alderman nominated by Penn in the Charter of the City of Philadelphia, but declined to act "for a vow or oath he had made never to serve under" the Proprietor.† In October, 1704, he was elected to the same office, but does not seem to have accepted the honour, and took no part in the direction of municipal affairs until October, 1705, when he was chosen Common-Council-man, and from that time until his death, in July, 1722, was one of the most active members of the corporation. He was, also, a Justice of the Peace, and a Representative of Philadelphia City and County in the Assembly of Pennsylvania. Mr. Joshua Carpenter's wife, the mother of Samuel, was named Elizabeth. She bequeathed her son a token of remembrance, with the explanation that his father had "already settled a very good estate on him and his heirs forever." Mr. Samuel Carpenter, with other Philadelphians, signed an Address to the Queen in 1709, "promoted," says James Logan in a letter to William Penn,‡ "by most, if not all, the members of Council who are not Friends, . . .

* The original owner of the well-known "Slate Roof House," occupied by William Penn in 1700–1, reputed at that time the richest person in the Province after the Proprietor. He was appointed by the latter Assistant to Governor Markham, and was for many years a Member of the Provincial Council and General Assembly, as well as Treasurer of Pennsylvania. His house and store are indicated in Peter Cooper's painting of *The South East Prospect of the City of Philadelphia* (in the possession of our Library Company), which likewise exhibits the store of Joshua Carpenter, below Chestnut Street, facing the river. Both Joshua and Samuel Carpenter were legatees of an interest in the Pickering Mine Tract, near the present Phœnixville, Pa. Two of Samuel Carpenter's posterity, Henry and Margaret Clymer, intermarried with descendants of Jöran Kyn. Unlike his brother Samuel, who was a prominent Quaker, Joshua Carpenter adhered to the Established Church, and was one of the earliest vestrymen of Christ Church, in Philadelphia. In 1708 he leased the so-called "Potter's Field," now Washington Square, and both he and Mrs. Elizabeth Carpenter were buried in a palisaded inclosure in the middle of that ground.

† See a letter from James Logan to William Penn, dated "3d 8br., 1704" (*The Penn and Logan Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 322).

‡ Dated the 29th of "the 6th month" (*The Penn and Logan Correspondence*, vol. ii. pp. 357–8). "I hear," writes Mr. Logan, "that Edward Shippen, Junior, signed without distinction to pass for his father, and Joshua

not through any dissatisfaction to thee in general, but to the belief of a necessity of other measures for the security of their estates." He was a member of the Church of England, and a Vestryman of Christ Church from 1718 to 1721.* In deeds he is styled "gentleman." Mr. and Mrs. Carpenter lived in a fine mansion, built by Joshua Carpenter, on the north side of Chestnut Street, between Sixth and Seventh Streets, with a garden extending for the whole square to Market Street.† Mr. Carpenter died in Philadelphia in February, 1735–6, being buried from Christ Church the 26th. Mrs. Carpenter survived her first husband, and married, secondly, John King, who died, however, without issue. She died in Philadelphia, November 6, 1758. Mr. and Mrs. Carpenter had eight children, born in Philadelphia:

141. Joshua, b. February 17, 1719-20; d. in infancy.
142. Joshua, b. February 2, 1720–1; m. Armgott Johnson.
143. Elizabeth, b. 1725; m., 1st, by December, 1746, "Doctor John Wright, of Philadelphia, practitioner in Surgery and Physick," who afterwards removed to Wilmington, in New Castle County, on the Delaware, where he soon died; and 2dly, by July, 1752, James Sykes, "of the County of New Castle, sadler."
144. Samuel, bapt. November 19, 1728, aged 6 months. He resided in Philadelphia, pursuing the occupation of merchant; and d. apparently unm. or s. p. His will is dated January 20, 1760, and was admitted to probate September 2, 1762.
145. Mary, bapt. March 26, 1731, aged one year; bur. April 19, 1731.
146. Catharine, bapt. January 28, 1733–4, aged 18 months; d. in infancy.
147. Jasper, bapt. November 7, 1734, aged one month; bur. April 15, 1735.
148. Jasper, b. 1735; m. Mary Clifton.

Carpenter's son, named Samuel, signed in the same manner to pass for his uncle."

* He may also have been the person called "Samuel Carpenter, Senior," who was a Member of the General Assembly for Philadelphia County from 1720 to 1723, unless that were his cousin-german, of the same name, son of his uncle Samuel Carpenter, for many years a Common-Council-man of Philadelphia.

† An interesting account of this house, accompanied by a picture of it, is given in Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*, vol i. pp. 376–7: see, also, Mr. Hazard's Annotations, vol. iii. pp. 190 and 193.

(To be continued.)

RECORDS OF CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

BURIALS, 1709–1760.

CONTRIBUTED BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

(Continued from page 346.)

Oct. 18, 1738.	Grew,	Elizabeth, wife of Theophilus.
Sept. 2, 1749.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Theophilus.
June. 11, 1753.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Theophilus.
Nov. 2, 1756.	"	——— dau. of Theophilus.
Nov. 6, 1756.	"	——— dau. of Theophilus.
Aug. 30, 1759.	"	Theophilus.
Jan. 17, 1758.	Grice,	Mary, dau. of John.
Sept. 12, 1759.	"	Catharine, dau. of Francis.
Nov. 5, 1736.	Grier,	Capt. George. [Giles John.
Aug. 1, 1751.	Griffin,	Frances Henrietta, dau. of
Dec. 13, 1734.	Griffiths,	Grace.
Jan. 5, 1709–10.	Grimbrig,	Walter.
May 15, 1754.	Griste,	George, son of Thomas.
April 20, 1729.	Grocket,	William.
Oct. 1, 1757.	Grogan,	Anne, dau. of Thomas.
Aug. 25, 1758.	"	James.
Nov. 22, 1752.	Groves,	John.
Jan. 31, 1759.	"	John.
May 23, 1738.	Growden,	Joseph, Esq. [Katharine.
Aug. 17, 1713.	Guesling,	Susannah, dau. of Cæsar and
Jan. 25, 1715–16.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Cæsar.
Oct. 8, 1732.	Guislin,	Nicholas.
Mar. 2, 1730–1.	Gumett,	Stephen, son of Stephen.
Sept. 25, 1756.	Gumley,	——— son of Elizabeth.
Nov. 21, 1732.	Gutridge,	Ann, dau. of John. P.
Mar. 26, 1726–7.	Gwin,	John.
Aug. 5, 1727.	"	Mary.
July 31, 1709.	Gynking,	Mr. Thomas.
Dec. 28, 1737.	Habbert,	Mary, wife of William.
July 3, 1746.	Hackburn,	Samuel.
July 29, 1723.	Haddock,	Mary.
July 12, 1746.	Hailston,	Mary, dau. of Joseph.
April 14, 1753.	Haines,	Henry, son of Stephen.
Sept. 6, 1748.	Hains,	James, son of Peter.

Aug. 20, 1756.	Hales,	——— son of Samuel.
Sept. 7, 1756.	"	——— son of Samuel.
Dec. 6, 1711.	Hall,	Elizabeth, wife of William.
June 20, 1720.	"	Anne, wife of Alexander.
Sept. 3, 1720.	"	Robert, son of Alexander and Anne.
Feb. 8, 1725–6.	"	Elizabeth.
April 16, 1733.	"	Samuel.
Sept. 16, 1739.	"	Mary. A seaman's wife. Beg.
Sept. 27, 1741.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Samuel.
Sept. 21, 1746.	"	John, son of Samuel.
July 30, 1749.	"	Robert, son of Robert.
Aug. 27, 1750.	"	Mary, dau. of David.
May 31, 1751.	"	Mary, dau. of John.
Oct. 3, 1751.	"	Susannah, dau. of David.
July 6, 1752.	"	Thomas, son of John.
June 12, 1753.	"	Benjamin, son of David.
Oct. 9, 1746.	Ham,	Thomas, son of Thomas
Dec. 27, 1754.	"	Anthony.
Oct. 17, 1756.	"	Anthony.
Sept. 11, 1716.	Hambleton,	James.
Sept. 12, 1732.	Hamilton,	Richard.
Sept. 30, 1741.	"	David.
Nov. 5, 1749.	"	Catharine.
Aug. 7, 1752.	"	Charles, son of John.
Mar. 15, 1753.	"	William.
Sept. 14, 1758.	"	John, son of John.
Oct. 22, 1758.	"	John.
April 6, 1727.	Hammett,	Thomas.
Sept. 19, 1748.	Hammon,	John.
Dec. 4, 1738.	Hammond,	William.
July 31, 1756.	Hanah,	Charles.
Nov. 6, 1717.	Hancock,	Leonard.
Oct. 4, 1714.	Handy,	Thomas.
Sept. 3, 1741.	Hanmarsh,	John.
Dec. 27, 1728.	Hannis,	Dorothy.
July 23, 1759.	"	Ann, dau. of John.
Sept. 12, 1742.	Hanson,	George.
Nov. 7, 1756.	"	——— dau. of Jonathan.
Nov. 13, 1756.	"	——— dau. of Jonathan.
Aug. 14, 1758.	"	——— son of Jonathan.
Sept. 10, 1759.	"	Mary, dau. of Jonathan.
Dec. 29, 1726.	Harbett,	Elizabeth, wife of John.
Sept. 6, 1747.	Harcombe,	Sarah, wife of John.
April 24, 1759.	Hardcastle,	William, son of William.
Sept. 7, 1741.	Hardee,	William.

July 21, 1726.	Harden,	Enoch, son of Miles and Jane.
July 9, 1759.	"	Stephen, son of Francis.
Jan. 27, 1718–9.	Hardin,	Mitchell, son of Miles and
Mar. 15, 1745–6.	"	Mary, wife of John. [Jane.
Aug. 29, 1751.	Harding,	Sarah, dau. of Francis.
Sept. 15, 1756.	"	——— son of Francis.
Sept. 20, 1758.	"	Samuel.
Sept. 10, 1736.	Hardy,	William, son of William.
Aug. 24, 1711.	Hare,	Elizabeth, dau. of Francis and Mary.
Mar. 2, 1712–3.	"	Mary, dau. of Francis and
May 12, 1740.	"	Henry. [Mary.
Nov. 1, 1747.	"	Gertrude.
Oct. 14, 1759.	"	Eleanor.
Aug. 10, 1759.	Harford,	Elizabeth, dau. of Rosanna.
Aug. 26, 1746.	Hargrave,	Anne, wife of Joseph.
July 3, 1748.	"	John, son of Joseph.
July 18, 1750.	"	Joseph, son of Joseph.
Nov. 27, 1755.	"	Sarah, dau. of Joseph.
Nov. 20, 1728.	Hargreave,	John, son of Charles. Quakers'
Aug. 27, 1739.	Haries,	Margaret. [Ground.
Aug. 31, 1739.	"	Anne, dau. of John.
Feb. 28, 1738–9.	Harper,	Sarah, wife of Ralph.
July 29, 1745.	"	Benjamin, son of Benjamin.
Jan. 11, 1748–9.	"	Gabriel, son of Ralph.
Sept. 17, 1752.	"	Joseph.
Sept. 9, 1759.	"	Ralph.
Aug. 12, 1759.	Harps,	——— dau. of Henry.
Aug. 12, 1713.	Harris,	Thomas.
Nov. 12, 1729.	"	William.
Mar. 19, 1730–1.	"	Anne.
Mar. 31, 1730–1.	"	Mary.
Oct. 18, 1732.	"	Anne.
Sept. 14, 1744.	"	Margaret, wife of William.
Sept. 7, 1758.	"	William. [ces.
Aug. 16, 1718.	Harrison,	Joseph, son of John and Fran-
Sept. 1, 1720.	"	Thomas, son of Daniel and
July 16, 1722.	"	Mary. [Judith.
July 30, 1722.	"	Thomas.
July 13, 1727.	"	Frances, wife of John.
Aug. 17, 1727.	"	Daniel, son of Daniel and Judith.
Sept. 11, 1729.	"	Daniel, son of Daniel.
Dec. 16, 1729.	"	Daniel.

(To be continued.)

MAY AND OCTOBER MEETINGS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The annual meeting of the Society was held on Monday evening, May 5, 1879, the President, Mr. Wallace, in the chair.

Mr. Frederick D. Stone, the Librarian of the Society, read a paper entitled "Philadelphia Society a Hundred Years Ago; or, the Reign of Continental Money."

On motion of Dr. Edward Shippen a resolution of thanks was offered Mr. Stone, and of request that a copy of his paper be furnished to the Society.

The President stated that among the valuable presentations to the Society since the last meeting he wished particularly to call attention to the very magnificent volume relating to the "Genealogy of the Taylor Family." The Secretary then read from letters of Joseph L. Chester, LL.D., now of London, formerly of Philadelphia, through whose exertions this copy has been procured for the Society, it being one of four sent to this country. He wrote that the edition consisted of one hundred copies, and as the whole outlay amounted to £10,000, each copy cost $500, and the binding of the edition alone cost $2500.

The Secretary read a letter dated Hartford, Conn., February 25, 1879, from Messrs. Brinley and Trumbull, administrators of the estate of Mr. George Brinley, notifying the President of the Society that in carrying out the known intentions of Mr. Brinley, they had determined in the sale of his American Library to give to certain Institutions and Societies the opportunity of obtaining at the sale, free of cost, such of his books as they should respectively select for their libraries, to the value in the aggregate of $25,000, and that the Historical Society of Pennsylvania was authorized to bid off at the sale books for the Society's Library to the amount of $2000.

The President stated that at the first of the three sales—which comprised more particularly those books relating to New England—the Society had made purchases under this offer to the value of $300, and that the balance of the $2000 was reserved for the second and third sales, which would comprise the works relating more particularly to Pennsylvania and the Middle States.

Mr. Charles M. Morris, the President of the Council, read the annual report of that body to the Society.

A special meeting of the Society was held at the Hall on the evening of Oct. 20, 1879, Vice-President Keim in the chair.

The meeting having been called to order, the Chairman introduced Samuel W. Pennypacker, Esq., who read an essay entitled "The Settlement of Germantown, and the Causes which led to it."

Upon the conclusion of the reading, on motion of Vice-President Horatio Gates Jones, Mr. Pennypacker received the thanks of the Society for his valuable and interesting paper, a copy of which he was requested to furnish the Society.

On motion, the meeting then adjourned.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

The Third Swedish Expedition to New Sweden.—The following names of persons, who embarked in Sweden, in 1641, for the colony of New Sweden (as related on page 407), are obtained from copies of lists, preserved in the Royal Archives at Stockholm, in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, one of which, comprising thirty-three individuals, is headed "*Des Secretarij Beijers Musterrul auf die Personhnen so mitt der Floijten Charitas auf Gottenburgh sein gefahren, und von dennen nach Nova Suecia sollen übergeführt werden,*" and the other, mentioning thirty-five emigrants, is entitled "*Lengde der Personhnen so mitt der Floijten Charitas von hier den 3 Maij A° 1641 auff Gottenburgh sein gefahren.*" etc.:

Måns Kling, with his wife, a maid, and a little child, to serve as lieutenant on the pay of 40 *riksdaler* a month, beginning May 1, 1641, granted 50 *riksdaler*, expectancy-money, by Clas Fleming, as a present. June 20, 1644, he was the officer on the Schuylkill.

Herr Christoffer —— (no surname in the original), a priest, going on the recommendation of the *Riksamiral*, from whom he received a present of 100 *daler*, copper money, stipulating for nothing but maintenance, since he joins the expedition to gain experience. This person and the two following are not named in the Lists of 1644 and 1648, and probably either did not reach New Sweden, or made but a short sojourn with the colony.

Gustaf Strahl, a young nobleman, sailing also on the recommendation of the Admiral for a similar purpose, receiving nothing, therefore, from the Company but maintenance.

Michel Jansson, the burgomaster's son, from Gefle, also an adventurer, receiving no compensation for the same reason.

Måns Svensson Loom (according to Beyer's *Musterrul*, Larsson), a tailor, formerly lieutenant, to engage in agricultural pursuits, paid at the start 5 *riksdaler*, but drawing no wages nor monthly allowances; accompanied by his wife, with two young daughters, and a little son. He is not mentioned in the List of 1644, but was still living in New Sweden, a freeman, in 1648.

Olof Persson Stille, of Penningsby Manor, Länna Parish, Roslagen, a millwright, to engage in agriculture, paid at the start 50 *daler*, copper money, drawing no additional wages, but to be paid for whatever work he does for, and for whatever he furnishes to, the Company; accompanied by his wife and two children, one seven, the other one and a half years old. He is not mentioned in the List of 1644, but his place of residence in 1655 is indicated on Lindström's Map. In 1658, and subsequently, he was one of the magistrates on the Delaware. He was still living in July, 1684, when he obtained confirmation of a grant of land in Passyunk, in Philadelphia County, Pa., (ceded to him June 3, 1664, by d'Hinojossa, the Dutch Governor on "South River,") but died before May, 1693, leaving as heir an only son, John Stille, born in America in 1646, the ancestor of a well-known Philadelphia family.

Mats Hansson or Jansson, to serve as gunner for the new fort, and at the same time engage in agricultural pursuits, or the cultivation of tobacco; accompanied by his wife. In 1644 he acted as gunner at Fort Christina, and is described in 1648 as "freeman."

Anders Hansson or Jansson, the gunner's brother, engaged by Måns

Kling as a servant of the Company, to cultivate tobacco, to receive as yearly wages 20 *riksdaler* and a coat; a freeman in 1648. This name and the one which follows do not appear in the List of 1644.

Axel Stille, *ditto*, with 15 *daler* copper money at the start; likewise a freeman in 1648. He was naturalized in 1661 in Maryland, but probably returned to the Delaware, since the name occurs among those of persons residing in Passyunk, in Philadelphia County, in 1683.

Olof Pålsson, *ditto*, with 20 *daler* copper money at the start. This name and the one which follows do not occur in the Lists of 1644 and 1648.

Per Jöransson, the same as Pålsson.

Jan Ericsson, from Ångermanland, *ditto;* a labourer, cultivating tobacco on the plantation at Upland in 1644, in 1648 a soldier.

Jacob Sprint, from Nyland, the same as Axel Stille; occupied in 1644 and 1648 like Ericsson.

Pål Jöransson or Jönsson, from Jemtland, *ditto;* in 1644 a labourer, cultivating tobacco at the plantation on the Schuylkill, in 1648 a soldier.

Evert Hindricsson, a Finn, the same as Pålsson; in 1644 occupied like Jan Ericsson; in 1648 still a labourer. Banished from Upland in 1663, he settled afterwards at Crane Hook, and became captain of the company there. He was a participant in the insurrection of the "Long Finn," for which offence he was fined 300 guilders. For some reference to him see THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, vol. ii. pp. 329–30.

Lars Markusson, the same as Anders Hansson. Possibly the person called Carl Marckusson, who died at Elfsborg July 10, 1643.

Hindrich Matsson, a lad, to receive 10 *riksdaler* as yearly wages, with 10 *daler* copper money at the start; occupied in 1644 and 1648 like Pål Jöransson.

Johan Andersson, a lad, *ditto;* occupied in 1644 and 1648 like Jan Ericsson.

Olof Ericsson, a lad, *ditto;* in 1644 a labourer at Tinicum, appointed to make hay for the cattle, and to accompany the Governor on the little yacht; still a labourer in 1648.

Pål Smaal, a lad, a baker's son, from Norrmalm, receiving no wages from the Company; served as a soldier, and set out from Christina for Sweden, on the *Fama*, June 20, 1644.

Carl Jansson, to accompany the expedition for punishment. Printz speaks of this person in his Report to the West India Company, dated February 20, 1647, as follows: "The bookkeeper Carl Johanson, who chanced to get into a difficulty through some misdemeanour in Kiexholm [in Finland], and for that reason was sent over to New Sweden, has been here six years, and behaved very well the whole time. Three years ago I not only appointed him to take care of the storehouse, but also trusted him to receive and audit the Commissary's monthly accounts, giving him a salary of 10 *riksdaler* per month (to be ratified graciously by the Right Hon. Company), which service he ever since has faithfully performed. Now he requests," proceeds the Governor, "by Her Royal Majesty's and the Rt. Hon. Company's favour, to be allowed, with the next ship, to go home to the Kingdom for a while, so long as it may please Her Royal Majesty, to settle his affairs there. His purpose for the future is willingly to serve Her Royal Majesty and the Rt. Hon. Company to the best of his judgment and ability, so long as he lives, either here in New Sweden, or wheresoever else he may be ordered."

Mats Hansson, formerly Clas Fleming's servant, drawing no wages, only to be supplied with needful apparel, because he committed an offence and must accompany the expedition for punishment; in 1644 occupied like Jan Ericsson, in 1648 a freeman.

Peter Larsson Kock, born in 1611, "*ein gefangener Knecht*," out of *Smedjegården*, to serve, as punishment, for necessary food and clothes, paid at the start 2 *daler* copper money; in 1644 occupied like Pål Jöransson, in 1648 a freeman. He held several offices under the government of the colony, and died at Kipka, in Philadelphia County, Pa., by March, 1688–9. He had, at least, six sons and as many daughters, and left numerous descendants. For some reference to him see a foot-note on page 94.

Eskil Larsson (in Beyer's *Musterrul*, Michel Hindrichson), a deserter from the army, sent by the War Office for punishment; not named in the List of 1644, in 1648 a labourer.

The persons mentioned above were joined by others at Gottenburg, and the *Rulle* of 1648 (referred to on page 402, note 2) supplies their names:

Clement Jöransson, a courier ("*brefswijsare*") and "forest-destroying" Finn, of the Parish of Sund, in Vermland, enlisted for punishment in the soldiery; permitted by a royal mandate to Governor Olof Stake, dated July 29, 1640, to emigrate to New Sweden, where in 1644 he cultivated tobacco as a labourer on the plantation at Upland, and by 1648 became a freeman.

Eskil Larsson, or Lars Eskilsson, *ditto*.

Bartel Eskilsson, son of the preceding, *ditto*.

Hans Månsson, from Skara (most likely the trooper spoken of on page 407), occupied like Clement Jöransson in 1644, in 1648 a freeman.

Hindrich Matsson, a Finn, *ditto*.

Lars Biörsson, in 1644 the same as Jöransson, in 1648 still a labourer. He had a son Laurence (born in New Sweden in August, 1648), who lived in Dublin Township, Philadelphia County, Pa., and left issue known by the surname of Boore.

Sivert or Evert Sivertsson, who came as a freeman on the *Charitas*, not named in the List of 1644, but still living in New Sweden in 1648.

Måns Jöransson, a Finn, sent out on the *Kalmar Nyckel*, who afterwards (by 1648) became a freeman. Neither this nor the following name occurs in the List of 1644.

Mats Olofsson, who came on the *Kalmar Nyckel* as a sailor, in 1648 a wood-sawyer.

Claes Claesson, a Dutch carpenter, who came on the *Charitas*, residing in 1644 on the island at Christina.

Laurens Andriesson Cuyper, a Dutchman who came in the *Kalmar Nyckel*, in 1644 making tobacco-casks, etc., at Christina.

Lucas Persson, who came as a sailor on the *Charitas*, in 1644 engaged like Cuyper, in 1648 a sailor on the sloop at New Sweden.

Lars Thomson, from Vedding, who came as a sailor on the *Charitas*, in 1644 and 1648 a sailor on the sloop.

Anders Christiansson Dreyer, a miller, in 1644 at Christina.

Knut Mårtensson Vasa, who came as a sailor, in 1644 cultivating tobacco for the Company on the plantation at Christina, in 1648 a freeman.

Olof Thorsson, in 1644 engaged like Vasa, in 1648 still a labourer.

Lars Andersson Ulf, from Gottenburg, in 1644 engaged like Vasa, in 1648 cook on the sloop.

Gottfried Hermansson, who came as a steward on the *Charitas*, in 1644 and 1648 assistant to the commissary. G. B. K.

Willard Memorial.—We have received from Messrs. Robert Clark & Co., Cincinnati, a biographical sketch of Major John Willard, a native of the parish of Horsmonden, in the county of Kent, England, who was born about 1605, and came to Boston in May, 1634. His first wife was Mary, d. of Henry and Jane (Ffeylde) Sharp, a native of Horsmonden. His second wife was Elizabeth Dunster, sister of the Rev. Henry Dunster, President of Harvard College.

THE REMAINS OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.—At meetings of the New Jersey Historical Society, held within the past two years, interesting papers were read by Mr. Wm. A. Whitehead and Col. R. S. Swords, relating to the alleged discovery of the bones of Columbus in the Cathedral of San Domingo; and we are indebted to the Corresponding Secretary of the Society for copies of pamphlets respecting the subject, which we have examined with satisfaction. The remains of Columbus were removed (as is well known) from Valladolid, where the great man died, to the Carthusian Monastery of Las Cuevas, in Seville, from whence they were transported, with those of his son Diego, (in 1536 according to the historians, more probably a year or two later,) to the island then known as Hispaniola, in the West Indies, and buried in the sanctuary of the Cathedral of San Domingo. Here they reposed, beyond dispute, until the year 1795, when the Spanish authorities, being about to cede the island to the French, obtained leave to transfer the precious relics to Cuba, where they deposited, with much pomp of civil and religious ceremony, the 19th of the following March, what was assumed to be the body of Columbus, near the high altar in the Cathedral of Havana. No general doubt was entertained, either then or subsequently, with regard to the correct identification of the remains; but a tradition, it seems, has ever since existed among certain circles of Dominicans, that a serious error was committed on the august occasion, and that the bones of the great admiral still lay interred "on the gospel side of the high altar" of their cathedral. Fresh life was given to this suspicion by the finding, during recent excavations in the church, of the remains of Admiral Lewis Columbus, grandson of Christopher Columbus; and further investigation led to the discovery, on the 9th and 10th of September, 1877, of two vaults, situated where the tradition indicated, one of which—entirely empty—is supposed to have held the body taken, as stated, to Havana, (very likely that of Diego Columbus,) while the other, separated from the former by a wall of stone six inches thick, to the joy of Bishop Cocchia and Canon Billini and the civil authorities present, was found to contain a small leaden case of human bones and dust, bearing Spanish inscriptions in German characters, interpreted: "Discoverer of America. First Admiral." "The Illustrious and Renowned Man Christopher Columbus." The unlooked-for possession of so extraordinary a treasure naturally produced "enthusiasm, bordering on delirium," among the inhabitants of San Domingo, and, at the instigation of the Spanish Academy of History, the Spanish consul, in conjunction with an agent specially appointed by His Catholic Majesty, solicited from the authorities of the Republic permission to make an examination of the discovered case and contents through a scientific commission to be selected for the purpose. This request was promptly granted, and the examination was carefully conducted on the 2d of January, 1878, resulting to the satisfaction of those concerned, as well as in the finding of a little plate of silver, not observed at the first opening of the case, inscribed: "A portion of the remains of the First Admiral Christopher Columbus Discoverer." The German and Italian consuls are particularly mentioned as having taken a lively interest in the investigations in the cathedral, and the latter communicated the facts to La Società Ligure di Storia Patria, of Genoa, which, after listening to a critical account of the discovery at San Domingo, read by the Secretary-General L. T. Belgrano, Consul Cambiaso himself being present, unanimously adopted the conviction of the genuineness of the remains found as related. To test the truth of this conclusion Belgrano suggests, with Henry Harrisse (*Les restes mortels de Cristophe Colomb*, in *Revue Critique* (Paris), num. 1, 5 janvier, 1878), a consultation of the original accounts of the transactions at San Domingo on the 22d of December, 1795, presumed to be in the keeping of the Spanish Departments of the State and Navy in Madrid, and not in print;

and, with both Harrisse and Emiliano Tejera (*Los Restos de Colon en Santo Domingo, ibi*, 1878), the publication of the act of translation of the remains of Columbus from Seville to San Domingo, as well as an examination of the archives of the descendants of the discoverer of America, the Dukes of Veraguas. Unfortunately, all civil and ecclesiastical records of San Domingo were removed in 1801 to Havana, where it is scarcely likely information upon a subject so nearly concerning the Cubans will readily be imparted. With regard, however, to any intentional fraud perpetrated on the latter (or rather on the Spanish naval commander who transferred the body to Havana), we must, in closing this note, state our dissent from the view, expressed by Mr. Whitehead, of chicanery on the part of one of the canons of the Cathedral of San Domingo in delivering what he knew were not the veritable remains of the great admiral. Such an hypothesis seems to us quite unnecessary, and is distinctly refuted by Belgrano, Tejera, and Monseñor Cocchia (*Colon en Quisqueya*). His lordship attributes the error partly to haste, partly to singular inaptness for so serious a duty in the persons delegated to perform it. K.

Dr. Barnabas Binney to Dr. Solomon Drowne.—We are indebted to Mr. Henry T. Drowne of New York for the following interesting letter from Dr. Barnabas Binney, father of the late Horace Binney, to Dr. Drowne, Mr. Drowne's grandfather.

General Hospital; French Creek, 30 Miles from Philadelphia. } Aug't 31st, '78.

My Dear Friend:—

After having very frequently wrote to you without ever hearing from or of you, I was lately favour'd with a Line of yours, dated near eight Months back. There is surely an uncommon Fatality attending *my* Letters & I am afraid *you* have almost forgot me. Believe, my dear Sir, altho' my Friendship was not noisy, nor can be noisy; altho' my Affection was not ostensible, nor much tried, it was, it *is* ardent & permanent. Adulation you know I am no great Friend to, I will not say for why, or wherefore, but united or single, I shall wish you well, still think & speak of you with pleasure & still desire a steady Correspondence with you. I long since congratulated you upon your happy Connection & requested Liberty to offer my most respectful Compliments to y^r^ Lady; I must again repeat what I then ventur'd & again wish you all the possible sweets of the tenderest, closest connubial Amity.

In upwards of a Dozen Letters since I saw you (but one from you all the Time) I have communicated to you a mere History of my Life in this part of our American World. Particularly I mentioned my having been a senior Surgeon in this middle Department ever since I left y^o^; my having wandered all over the Jerseys & this State in different Hospitals; my being tired of such a vagrant Life & satiated with Hospital Experience itself: my determination to settle somewhere soon &c. &c. &c. &c. I am now as much at a Loss to determine finally my Post as I've been at all. Our Hospitals this Way are getting upon a much more regular & honorable Footing; hence my Inducement to stay in y^m^. I am also blest with a Reputation. I'm loath to leave. However I may yet quit them in a few Weeks. Philadelphia is probably my seat.

Mrs. Binney, who has been with me thro' all my Tours, is also desirous of retiring to y^e^ Bosom of permanent domestic Peace. I particularly mention'd my Losses by the Capture of that City. But Heaven is all provident! I have but little political or military to communicate now; this is not the Quarter. To-morrow, at Philad^a^, four commission'd officers of the Delaware

Gallies are to be shot for desertion y^e^ last Winter. Two in y^e^ same predicament have been hanged there lately already. Your old friend *Thomas* y^e^ Tutor, having got into y^e^ medical Tribe has been one of my Mates these six Months past. He studied with *Kuhn* six Months last year. He is deserving & sends his Love. Mr. *Henry* I suppose you know is Ass^t^ Sect^y^ to his Excellency. *Crosby, Ridgley, Frizly,* W. *Wetherspoon,* &c. &c. are Jun^r^ Surg^ns^ I suppose you know also. *Hutchinson* a Surg^n^ in fly^s^ Hos^l^. Young *J. Foulk* is with *post;* a pedantic young Quaker still. *Rush* has quarrel'd himself out of all public Posts. Poor, worthy *Dunlap* got married & stay'd in the City; it has hurt him much. He is yet there. *Kuhn. Rush* & Old *Bond* I hear intend to Lecture in y^e^ Winter. Thank God I'm done with them. Long-Island *Smith* whom y^o^ knew at y^e^ Lectures has been one of my Jun^r^ Surg^ns^ this Year past, he's well, & sends compliments, &c.

We are all now waiting with Impatience for news from y^r^ Quarter. Write me fully & immediately p^r^ post to Philad^a^. I shall be there. Please to present my Respects to y^r^ Parents, to my old Friend Holdroy'd, Messrs. Browns & y^r^ Sister Sally, &c. &c. Please to inform me what I shall do with y^r^ Things. You have suffer'd some Loss tho' I've sav'd y^o^ most of them. I long for y^e^ Period when *Science* shall be y^e^ Subject of our Letters. Farewell my dear Friend, believe me & mine your'n & your's. Write me soon.

B. Binney.

[Addressed]

Doct^r^ Solomon Drowne,
Providence,
Rhode Island.

Correction in "A Walk to Darby" (vol. iii. p. 251).—In your interesting paper in the last number of the Magazine, you have inadvertently fallen into a slight error in stating that the late Admiral Geo. C. Read lies buried in the grounds of the Naval Asylum, Gray's Ferry Road.

He *was* buried there, but, when the Naval Hospital was built—about 1864—it was found necessary to place it upon the site of the asylum cemetery, where Admiral Read, Commodore Elliott, and many of the old petty officers and seamen of the early days of our navy were interred.

The Government bought a large lot in Mount Moriah Cemetery, and removed the remains of all of them to that place, except those of Admiral Read, which were reinterred in Laurel Hill, in a lot belonging, I think, to his wife's nieces, the daughters of the late Judge Pettit.

As the Historical Society possess a fine portrait of the late admiral, I thought that perhaps it would be as well to correct the inaccuracy as to his place of burial. I feel sure it is the only one in your valuable contribution to local history.

Yours very sincerely,

Edward Shippen,
M.D., U.S.N.

Wampum.—In January, 1868, Dr. Ashbel Woodward, of Franklin, Conn., read an excellent address on wampum, before "The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society" of Philadelphia. Dr. Woodward says: "It seems almost incredible that the Indian could have produced so clever an article as wampum with his rude implements. Some have conjectured that the specimens produced before the natives obtained awl blades from the colonists were very inferior to their later productions. One writer even goes so far as to suggest that, before the advent of the Europeans, Indian beads consisted mostly of small pieces of wood, stained white or black. The fact is, however, that the manufacture of wampum dates back at least to the time of the mound builders, for quantities of beads similar in form to the more modern article,

and proved by chemical tests and structural peculiarities to be similar in material, have been exhumed from the ancient mounds in the west."

The common clam-shell was used in making wampum. The beads are oblong cylinders, about one-eighth of an inch in diameter and a quarter of an inch long; those made from the dark purple portion of the shell being double the value of the white ones. It was manufactured by the Indians living on the sea-coast, as they, naturally, could more readily obtain the raw material. The Narragansett Indians were great producers of wampum, and little was made by any of the tribes living north of them, and tradition credits them with first making wampum belts. The Long Island Indians were, however, by far the largest makers of this much coveted article, which, before colonial times, was used for personal adornment. Subsequent to their intercourse with the whites, the Indians used wampum as money, and as presents to give an importance to the treaties which they entered into.

Dr. Woodward's investigations are, we believe, the most extensive which have been made on the subject. They have been published by Mr. Joel Munsell, of Albany.

Corrections in "The Descendants of Jöran Kyn."—Vol. ii. p. 445, 3d line from the foot, after "Robert Wade" add: also a member of the Council. At the end of the next line add: A *fac simile* of the Oath and signatures appears in the Appendix to the *Charter to William Penn*, etc., published at Harrisburg in 1879. Mr. Sandelands writes his name *Sandlenes*. *Ibid.* p. 447, 13th line, for "1693" read 1690, and after "Court" add: at New Castle, and in 1693 of that. *Ibid.* p. 452, line 17, after "numerous" insert as follows: In company with his brother Erick and many "of the peaceable and well-affected Inhabitants of the County of Philadelphia," he signed a "Remonstrance," addressed to Governor Markham, March 12, 1696–7, complaining of the attempted introduction of "another method than that which is prescribed by the Charter in Respect of the government, not only in Respect of the promulgacon & publishing of Bills to bee passed into Laws by the Gouernr & Councill, But also with Respect to the Number of Representatives to serve in Councill & Assembly, as well as other priviledges Contained therein," and requesting that the provisions of the Charter in such cases be regarded.

Vol. iii. p. 94, before the 18th line from the foot insert: one of the Proprietors of West New Jersey, being. *Ibid.* p. 206, line 11, after "Delaware" add as follows: Mr. Yeates was rated one of the wealthier inhabitants of Philadelphia in the Tax List of 1693, and resided at that time in a house on the east side of Front Street, between Walnut and Spruce, afterwards sold by him to Governor Markham, who occupied it until his death. In June, 1694, with Joshua Carpenter and others, he signed a petition to Governor Fletcher for a street under the bank of the town, towards the river, "from y^e^ landing caled y^e^ blue ancor up to y^e^ north bridge, which may be caled by y^e^ name of Dellaware Street"—granted under the name of King Street, known to-day as Water Street. Before the close of this year he removed to Chester County, as appears from a deed for land below New Castle, called "Markham's Hope," purchased by him, at that date, from Governor Markham. *Ibid.* p. 210, 12th line from the foot, add: To the determined conduct of Messrs. Yeates and French, with their associates, at this period, is, without doubt, properly attributed the present existence of the Commonwealth of Delaware, separate from Pennsylvania, as a sovereign State of the Union. *Ibid.* p. 215, line 5, for 1796–7 read 1696–7, and to the last line add as follows: The original of Mr. Yeates's petition to Colonel Markham, cited in the text, is still preserved in a valuable volume of *William Penn's Letters and Ancient Documents*, belonging to the Ameri-

can Philosophical Society. It is accompanied by a note from Mr. Yeates to Patrick Robinson, Secretary of the Province, dated at "Upland," a name not yet supplanted by the Proprietary's "Chester." *Ibid.* p. 216, line 22, for "May" read March. *Ibid.* p. 217, line 6, after "Kent" read: where he resided in 1695. *Ibid.* p. 220, lines 6–8, omit from "Chief-Justice" to "and," inclusively. *Ibid.* p. 223, 6th line from the foot, for "m. Nicholas Ridgely" read: b. November 20, 1702; m., 1st, James Gordon; 2dly, Nicholas Ridgely. *Ibid.* p. 331, next to the last line of the text, after "and" insert: Representative of Chester County in the Assembly of Pennsylvania from 1720 to 1722. G. B. K.

Lancaster Firemen in 1766.—The following names of the members of the Friendship, Union, and Sun Fire Companies of Lancaster are found on a remonstrance to the Assembly of Pennsylvania against the repeal of the Act passed September, 1765, authorizing a tax for paying a night-watch and for providing reservoirs of water in different parts of the town for use in case of fire. It is dated January, 1766. To the same paper is attached the names of the chief officers of the Borough of Lancaster, which we also print.

Friendship Fire Company.	Union Fire Company.	Sun Fire Company.
Tho. Barton,	Edwd. Shippen,	Marcus Jung,
Wilton Atkinson,	Adam Simon Kuhn,	Michael Gross,
William White,	Christopher Crawford,	Paul Weitzel.
Jacob Fetter,	John Hopson,	Christian Wentz,
David Crissler,	Rudy Stoner,	Casper Singer,
John Miller,	George Graff,	Christoph Breidenhardt,
Hans Kob,	Christian Voght,	William Bausman,
Philip Frick,	Friedrich Danbach,	Christopher Hayne,
John Grosch,	Robt. Boyd,	John Spoore,
Nicolaus Staner,	Anthony Snyder,	Philip Bush,
Steffan Martin,	Adam Reigart,	John Henry,
Friedrich Staidele,	Christopher Reigart,	William Bosch,
Martin Lauman,	Lenhart Kline,	Philip Lescher,
Sebastian Graff,	John Eberman,	Fred. Stone,
John Musser,	Henry Dehuff,	Bard. Hubley,
Ludwig Lauman,	Peter Riblet,	Philip Becker,
Jas. Ralfe,	Mathias Slough,	John Epple,
Andrew Graff,	Joseph Simon,	John Barr,
Francis Sanderson,	Nics. Miller.	Michael Fordins,
William Jevon,		John Hambright,
John Creaig,		Michael Job,
Michael Diefenderfer,		Jacob Weaver,
William Montgomery,		Daniel May,
Joseph Solomon,		Simon Schnyder,
Ullrick Reigart,		Henry Huttenstein,
George Petz,		Christoph Knirrschildt,
Lorentz Marquedant,		Petter Gander,
Roger Connor.		Michael Gertner.

Chief officers of the Lancaster government.

James Burd, Chief Burgess.
A. Hubley, Second Burgess.
John Feltman,
Isaac Whitelock,
George Mayer,
Lodwick Stone,
William Henry,
Stophel Franciscus, Ch. Cont.
Casper Shaffner, Town Clerk.

Funeral Armor in Churches—Admiral Sir Wm. Penn.—(From London Notes and Queries, 5th Series, Vol. XI. p. 457.) Among the instances of funeral armor in churches is to be found "that of Admiral Sir Wm. Penn, the father of the founder of Pennsylvania. It is in the church of St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, where he was interred on October 3, 1670. The armor consists of the entire suit, with helmet, said to have been worn by the gallant knight, 'admiral and general,' during his last expedition, and it is attached to one of the columns of the church, together with his sword, spurs, gauntlet, and pennons, now consisting of a few fragments only."

To this is added: "In September, 1845, the family vault was opened to admit the remains of a descendant, when it was found that the mahogany outer coffin was completely decayed, and the leaden one, containing the admiral, had given way at the sides. Upon lifting the lid to have the sides properly secured, the cerecloth covering the body appeared quite perfect; the face and hands, which had become of a brown color, were alone uncovered, and they were well preserved, the pointed Vandyke beard and moustaches remarkably so. The next day the coffin, having been carefully repaired, was redeposited in the vault. It will be remembered that Sir Wm. Penn was born in Bristol, and that by his last will he desired his 'body to be buried in the parish church of Redcliffe, as near unto the body of my dear mother, deceased, as the same conveniently may be.'"

Early Chapters of Cayuga History, 1656–1684. By Charles Hawley, D.D., President of the Cayuga Historical Society. 8vo. pp. 106. Auburn, N. Y.: Ivison & Perry, 1878. Price $1.

In this book will be found the translation of those parts of the *Relations* of the Jesuit Fathers which treat of their labors among the Cayugas, and the account of the Sulpitian Missions among the emigrant Cayugas about Quinté Bay.

There are no documents of greater importance in studying the history of the settlement of this country by the Europeans than the Jesuit *Relations*. In them we have the best accounts that have been preserved of the manners and customs of the Aborigines, and of the country as it appeared before it had been changed by the hand of civilization. The language in which these descriptions are given has a charm peculiar to the circumstances under which they were written. They are the expressions of educated men, who, inspired with a religious zeal that supported them through all danger, penetrated into the interior of the Continent, with no more selfish thought than to gather into the bosom of that church whose servants they were, the unbelieving children of the forest. The grandeur of the scenery which surrounded them in their labors could not but impress their minds, stirred by such an earnest enthusiasm, and the narratives of these apostolic missionaries are as picturesque as they are interesting and truthful.

It is, however, with the greatest difficulty that we are able to locate the minor topographical points mentioned by these early *Relators*, excellent as their maps were considering the circumstances under which they were made, and it is only the local historian who can do so with any degree of accuracy. It has been the aim of the gentleman who prepared the work of which we are speaking to do this for the Cayuga Mission, and there is no necessity of saying anything further of its excellence than that it contains the investigations of Dr. Charles Hawley, General John S. Clark, and Dr. J. Gilmary Shea.

King's Pocket-Book of Cincinnati.—This little pamphlet of 88 pages, 12mo., published by Robert Clark & Co., of Cincinnati, will be found a useful addition to any collection of local histories.

THE BUILDING AND VOYAGE OF "THE GRIFFON" IN 1679.—Mr. O. H. Marshall, of Buffalo, has reprinted from the pubilcations of the *Buffalo Historical Society* a very interesting address read by him before that institution February 3d, 1863. The 7th of last August was the two hundredth anniversary of the day upon which the "The Griffon" left her anchorage near the foot of Squa Island, and ascended the rapids of the Niagara into Lake Erie. The history of her construction and the narrative of her voyage under the adventurous La Salle, are the subject of Mr. Marshall's address, which is written after years of investigation and study.

THE LIFE OF BENEDICT ARNOLD. HIS PATRIOTISM AND HIS TREASON. By Isaac A. Arnold. 8vo. pp. 444. Chicago: Jansen McClurg & Co., 1880. Price $2.50.

This work is an able and ingenious argument to endeavor to lessen the verdict which has been passed upon the character of Benedict Arnold. The author disavows any intention of wishing to mitigate the abhorrence with which Arnold's crime is regarded, but thinks that the services he rendered to his country, prior to his treason, were of such value that they should not be lost sight of in the shadow of that act. Mr. Arnold says that it is his wish to tell the story of Arnold's life as it would have been told had he fallen before Quebec or on the banks of the Hudson, and we can only say that he has told it very much in that spirit, down almost to the hour of his treason. He has made an interesting, lively, and spirited story of the early part of Arnold's career, and has pointed out strongly the injustice with which he was treated by Congress. We very much doubt, however, if Mr. Arnold can make many of his readers forget the latter part of Arnold's life as they read the first, even under the softening influences of a hundred years. We think Mr. Arnold has continued his tenderness in speaking of him until too near the time of his treason, and would advise all who read the book to remember that Arnold had been in correspondence with the enemy six months when his trial took place, nor can we agree with Mr. Arnold that Arnold was not then "irretrievably lost."

That portion of Mr. Arnold's book which treats of Arnold in Europe, and of his family, gives it a real value. Mr. Arnold says "The identity in the name of the author and the subject, and possibly the treatment, may suggest a relationship which does not exist." Our space will not allow us to enter as fully into its examination as a whole, as it was our intention of doing, but possibly we may return to the subject in our next issue.

The Journal of Lieut. John L. Hardenbergh, of the Second New York Continental Regiment, from May 1st to October 3d, 1779, in Gen. Sullivan's campaign against the Western Indians, edited by Gen. John S. Clark, with Biographical Sketch by Rev. Charles Hawley, D. D., President of the Cayuga Historical Society, will shortly be issued by that Society.

BONAPARTE'S PARK AND THE MURATS. By E. M. Woodward. 8vo. pp. 116. Trenton, 1879.

Col. E. M. Woodward, of Ellisdale, N. J., has gathered under this title a series of articles contributed by him to the *Bordentown Register*. The book gives an interesting description of the beautiful home of Joseph Bonaparte, ex-King of Spain, which he built at Bordentown, after the downfall of Napoleon in 1814. It also contains interesting reminiscences of King Joseph during the time he resided in the United States, and of Prince Murat, the son of Marshal Murat. It is gossippy and pleasantly written, and will be read with interest.

Lady Harriet Ackland.—In Lippincott's Magazine for October, 1879, there is a very interesting sketch of Lady Harriet Ackland, by W. L. Stone, which corrects the many inaccuracies that have been current in the numerous histories of Burgoyne's Campaign, in reference to that exemplary lady.

In the Autobiography of Mrs. Fletcher, published by Edmonston & Douglas, Edinburgh, within a few years, she gives a narrative of the career of the noted Chaplain Brudenell, which exhibits him in no enviable light, in his cruel treatment of his wife, who died in October, 1807. They had been separated since 1776. . The chaplain died 1804. J. J., Jr.

"Computation of Time."—Errata, Vol. II. p. 400. Foot-note. 5th line from bottom, for 58 read 57. Page 402, 11th line from bottom, for first day read First day. Vol. III. page 66, 12th line from bottom, for 2 Dec. read 2 Sept., and on page 69, bottom line, for 41 m. read 48 m. All of these are typographical errors, which the reader will please correct. S. B.

The Mound Builders.—The race of men who constructed the works of such amazing magnitude so common in Ohio and to the west of it, has left monuments worthy of the deepest study. There is reason to suppose that they were followed, not by the Indians whom our ancestors met, but by another race called "Villagers," who were intermediate. This would give a great antiquity to the mound builders; but it is by no means certain that they were the first who occupied the country, for already there have been discovered evidences that we once had an era of cave life.

This cave life existed in Pennsylvania, and here also have been found traces of the other races. It cannot, therefore, be too strongly urged upon the people of the State to carefully observe whatever may fall under their observation calculated to throw light upon this important subject. The great mound at Grave Creek, twelve miles below Wheeling, is very near the western border of our territory, but traces of the race occur further east. Among the manuscripts of Prof. Benj. Smith Barton, of the Univ. of Pa., are notes of conversations with John Pemberton on a voyage to England, on board the ship Apollo, in 1789. He says: "That Mr. Pemberton tells me that on digging a mill-race at his brother's forge in Virginia, some time before the year 1777, at the depth of about fifteen feet from the surface of the ground, a stone coffin was discovered. Mr. Pemberton says that the coffin was imbedded in a quantity, perhaps a vein, of a stone somewhat resembling limestone, but of a very spongy nature. Mr. P. cannot tell me, as he says he is not curious in these subjects, whether or not any remains of a body were found in this coffin."

"The Mound Builders; being an account of a remarkable people that once inhabited the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi, together with an investigation into the archæology of Butta County, Ohio," by J. P. MacLean, has been published in Cincinnati by Messrs. Robert Clarke & Co. It is well calculated to awaken interest in a subject of deep importance.

Queries.

Adherents to George Keith.—What was Proud's authority for the statement in the following note, which appears at the foot of page 369 of vol. i. of his History of Pennsylvania?

"*Note.*—Some of the principal persons who adhered to Keith, and were

men of rank, character, and reputation in these provinces, and divers of them great preachers and much followed, were, Thomas Budd, George Hutchinson, Robert Turner, Francis Rawle, John Hart, Charles Reade, &c."

R. S.

Monument to General Montgomery (vol. iii. p. 234).—In the writings of Franklin we find the following references to the monument to Montgomery, spoken of in his letter to Hutton, printed on page 234:—

To John Jay, President of Congress, under date of October 4th, 1779, he says: "It is two years, I believe, since I sent the monument of General Montgomery. I have heard that the vessel arrived in North Carolina, but nothing more. I should be glad to know of its coming to hand, and whether it is approved. Here it was admired for the goodness and beauty of the marble, and the elegant simplicity of the design. The sculptor has had an engraving made of it, of which I inclose a copy. It was contrived to be affixed to the wall within some church, or in the great room where the Congress met. Directions for putting it up went with it. All the parts were well packed in strong cases." To Robert R. Livingston he writes August 12, 1782: "This puts me in mind of a monument I got made here and sent to America, by order of Congress, five years since. I have heard of its arrival, and nothing more. It was admired here for its elegant antique simplicity of design, and the various beautiful marbles used in its composition. It was intended to be fixed against a wall in the State House of Philadelphia. I know not why it has been so long neglected; it would, methinks, be well to inquire after it, and get it put up somewhere. Directions for fixing it were sent with it. I inclose a print of it. The inscription in the engraving is not on the monument; it was merely the fancy of the engraver. There is a white plate of marble left smooth to receive such inscription as the Congress should think proper."

If these passages refer to the monument in St. Paul's Chapel, New York, the following transcripts from the records of the corporation of Trinity Church, which I made on the 27th of February last, by the courtesy of Dr. Dix, may not be out of place here:—

"23 May, 1787. Mr. Duane further reported that at the request of the Corporation of the City, the committee had given permission for the monument to Gen'l Montgomery to be erected under the portico of St. Paul's Chapel, in front of the great window."

"18 June, 1787. Mr. Duane produced a design made by Col. Le Enfont to ornament that part of the great window of St. Paul's Chapel which will be obscured by the monument of General Montgomery, which the board highly approve of, and request the favour of Col. Le Enfant to superintend the execution of it and the putting of it up."

Can any of the readers of the Magazine inform us as to how it was that St. Paul's Church, New York, was chosen as the place to erect the monument, and where it was from the time of its arrival in North Carolina until 1787?

T. H. M.

Religious Toleration.—What was the effect of the Act of Tolerancy of 1689 as to the right of building churches and church-steeples with bells hanging in them?

It is presumed that, before that act was passed, dissenters in England had no right to erect church-edifices, steeples, etc.

Did that act grant to them that right?

I find that in the *Halle Reports*, on page 22, H. M. Muhlenburg uses the following words: "According to the laws of England and of this Province no Sect or Religion (Denomination) have a right to build a Church-edifice,

but those who belong to the Church of England, and with them the Lutherans."

Now I should like to know on what legal basis or authority this statement rests. Any information will be most thankfully received. W. J. M.

Finney.—What is known of Dr. John Finney, son of Robert and Dorothea Finney, of "Thunder Hill," New London Tp., Chester Co., Pa.? He practised medicine in New Castle, on the Delaware, from 1734 to 1774, and died there about April of the latter year, leaving four children, Elizabeth, Anna Dorothea, David, and Robert, with regard to whom, also, information is desired. Of these, Anna Dorothea Finney married John Finney, of Londonderry Tp., Chester Co., Pa., where they were living in 1795. David Finney practised law for many years in New Castle, and was Judge of the Supreme Court of Delaware State in 1778. He married Ann ——— (what was her maiden name?), and died in 1805–6. His daughter Elizabeth married William Miller, Esq., of Philadelphia, Pa., and died about 1800. Another daughter, Sarah Maria, married her cousin French McMullan, Esq. One of his sons, David Thompson Finney, and wife Mary, removed to the "town of Washington," Pa., about 1806. Another, Washington Lee Finney, was married in Philadelphia in 1797, to Christiana, daughter of George Bickham, and practised law in Wilmington, Del., where he died in 1804. What is known of any of the persons named? K.

Replies.

Nationality of Robert Fulton (vol. iii. p. 356).—In view of the decision of the State Commissioners of Pennsylvania, in selecting Robert Fulton as one of the two to adorn the gallery of statuary at the Capitol of the Nation, all questions touching the place of his nativity are of great interest.

On the first day of December, 1758, William Foulk, gunsmith, of Lancaster Bo., and Margaret Foulk sold 31 acres of land to Robert Fulton, "Taylor," of Lancaster Bo., which was situated on Conestoga Creek, south of Lancaster. And on August 23, 1759, the same Robert Fulton, "Taylor," bought the N. E. corner of Centre Square from Peter Worrell, one of the Justices for Lancaster Co. A careful examination of the annual assessment lists for Lancaster Borough during these years shows that there was the name of but one Robert Fulton. Under the head of "trades" he is marked "shopkeeper."

On the 25th day of March, 1763, Alexander Work and wife, of Cumberland Co., Pa., and Hugh Glesford, of Lampeter Township, Lancaster County, sold 190 acres of land to Robert Fulton, "Taylor," of Lancaster Borough. This land adjoined John Line's, James Scott's, George Bard's, and David Crawford's land, in Lampeter Township. At the February term of court, 1765, a deed was confirmed from John Barr, High Sheriff of Lancaster County, for 365 acres of land sold to Robert Fulton, of Lancaster Borough. This land belonged to the estate of James Gillespie, in Little Britain Township, Lancaster County. The land ran across "Canawango" Creek, and adjoined lands of Walter Denny, James Ramsey, Daniel McFarland, Thomas Whiteside, and William Montgomery. Fulton mortgaged his house in Lancaster to Edward Shippen, Jr., of Phila., to raise some of the purchase money upon this farm.

On the 17th day of August, 1765, Robert Fulton, of Little Britain Town-

ship, yeoman, and Mary his wife, sold their farm in Lampeter Township to John Craig, of the said township.

On the 29th day of November, 1765, Robert Fulton, of Little Britain, and Mary his wife, gave a mortgage on their farm to Wm. West, Samuel Purviance the younger, and Joseph Swift, of the city of Phila., merchants, for £1777. 9*s*. 10*d*. A few years later this mortgage was foreclosed, and the farm sold by the sheriff to Joseph Swift, one of the parties named in the mortgage.

The farm is now owned by the descendants of Mr. Swift.

If Robert Fulton was born in the year 1765, after the purchase of the farm in Little Britain, that was doubtless the place of his nativity. If he was born in the year 1764. Lancaster City will have to put in her claim for the honor of Fulton's birth-place.

The land in Little Britain and the adjoining township, until lime was first used on the land 40 years ago, did not afford large returns to the farmer. And Fulton, doubtless, found it an unprofitable investment, with a heavy mortgage on the land. After the sale of the farm in Little Britain I can find no record of the transfer of any property to Robert Fulton. There is no will on record, nor administrator's account on file.

It is not unlikely that Robert Fulton's father died comparatively poor. Mary Fulton, the mother of Robert, was doubtless a woman of energy, who had the entire charge of her family after her husband's death.

These dates would seem to preclude all possibility of the death of Robert Fulton in a foreign land. SAMUEL EVANS.

Columbia, Pa., Nov. 24, 1879.

NATIONALITY OF ROBERT FULTON (vol. iii. p. 356).—A correspondent writes us: There is no room to doubt the nationality of Robert Fulton, the inventor. His grandparents were both of Scotch-Irish descent, and came to this country about 1720. Alexander Fulton married Mary Smith, and settled in Lancaster County. My great-grandfather, Col. Robert Smith, of Uwchlan, Chester County, was a nephew of this Mary Smith, and my grandfather, Joseph Smith, of Philadelphia, well remembered in his youth the great preparations which a visit to "Aunt Fulton" required in the way of baking, boiling, and roasting, and in getting ready the camp equipage which the journey through the wilderness required. It was only less formidable than a journey across the Atlantic.

The intimacy was kept up between Joseph Smith, who was an iron and shipping merchant, and his cousin, Robert Fulton, throughout the life of the latter, and they were partners in several of Fulton's ventures. The name of one of Fulton's brothers, Abraham Smith, was a family name, being borne also by one of Joseph Smith's uncles. This personal connection and business relation between Joseph Smith and Robert Fulton are within the knowledge of persons still living, and the family tie was as well known as any other fact relating to a family whose written and traditional records are both universally full and accurate. Yours, truly,

JOSEPH S. HARRIS.

LENGTH OF GENERATIONS (vol. iii. p. 350).—In answer to the query of "J.," I offer the following: Robert Jefferis, or Jeffries, was a witness at a Court held at Chester in 1685, but his birth is unknown. He afterwards resided and died in East Bradford Township, Chester County, Pa. By a second wife he had a son Richard, who settled in Huntingdon County, and was the father of at least twenty-two children. The generations run thus—Robert, b. perhaps 1670, died 1738; Richard, b. 1730, died 1817; Isaiah, b. 1806, living 1879. Two of Richard's daughters are also living, in Ohio. Mark Jeffries, the eldest son of Richard by his second wife, died Feb. 11,

1877, aged 90 years and one day. He was the father of John P. Jeffries, Probate Judge of Wayne County, O., author of *Natural History of the Human Races*, and of Gen. N. L. Jeffries, of Washington, D. C. G. C.

Margaret Coghlan (vol. iii. p. 359).—On noticing the query of your correspondent, I searched in my collection for the following letter, which I notice is written less than two years after her memoirs were published, and may therefore only slightly aid him:—

Sir—The knowledge I had of you in my native country, America, emboldens me to take the liberty of addressing you, flattering myself that Major Moncrieffe, my late father, who married the sister-in-law of Mr. Frederick Jay, brother to Mr. John Jay, of New York, will serve as a friendly recommendation to your notice. My present application is as one of the subjects of America, and therefore I rely upon the goodness of your heart for an attentive ear, trusting that as far as possible you will be kind enough to use your influence. I beg leave to inform you that a very amiable young lady, about sixteen years old, a near relative of my husband, was left about two years ago at Rouen, under the care of Mr. Bartholomew, and neither her father or myself have been able to procure the least information of her, although we have every reason to suppose she is considered a prisoner, and treated as such, which makes us very unhappy, and although every inquiry has been made by our correspondents at Hamburgh, as the inclosed will certify, we still remain in the dark, and fear some disaster has happened to her. Permit me, sir, to implore your aid to discover where she is. The friendship which exists between our country and the Republic of France will, I flatter myself, if you will have the humanity and condescension to make an application in behalf of this unfortunate lady, enable us to know where she is, which will be a great satisfaction to her father, who is almost distracted about her. Her name is Hester Holmes. Mr. Bartholomew lives at Le Mevoie, a small village near Rouen. Messrs. Lecotorix, bankers at Rouen, with whose family Miss Hester Holmes was on terms of intimacy, can inform you, if you will take the trouble to write to your correspondents at Rouen. Her father wishes to remit her some money, but from the differences between this country and France, he does not know how to do it; if you have the goodness, sir, to grant our request, and will favor us with your opinion, please to direct a line to James Holmes, Esq., No. 35 Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields; it will be thankfully received.

I have the honor to be, with much respect,
Sir, your most Obedient Humble Servant,
April 15, 1795. M. Coghlan.

P. S. The young lady who will have the honor to deliver to your Excellency, is sister to the party now in confinement in France, and will inform you of every particular.

His Excellency, Thomas Pinkney.

This letter is written in a neat strong hand. It has been in my possession for several years, and is the only relic I have seen of her. I am happy to be able to send it to a magazine which I receive with so much interest, and so combine a pleasure with a duty. T. Bailey Myers.

4 West 34th St., New York.

The Fire Insurance Badge (vol. iii. p. 235), taken from the Wharton House, I have now seen, it being in the custody of Mr. David Lewis (Treasurer of the old Mutual Insurance Company), and have ascertained it to be the badge of the *Firemen's Insurance Company* of Baltimore, which was incorporated in 1825; but as the Company was not authorized to insure any buildings outside of the State of Maryland until 1862, about five years after the destruction of the Wharton House, one is at a loss to account for this being found in its cellar at that time. T. H. M.

REPORT OF COUNCIL

TO

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA,

MAY 6, 1879.

TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA:—

Your Council report the number of registered strangers visiting the Hall, during the year 1878, at 1094. In the use of the Hall and of the Library by the members of the Society, there has been a marked increase.

The additions to the Library and Collections for the year were—

Books	445
Pamphlets	2098
Magazines	20
Maps	6
Manuscripts	109
Miscellaneous	60

The receipts of the year 1877 were $786 short of the expenditure of that year. This deficiency was extinguished in 1878 by subscriptions generously made for the purpose by a few members.

The following is a summary of the financial reports of 1878.

Treasurer's Report.

Income from members	$3115 00	
Interest from investments	513 56	
Pecuniary contributions	769 75	
Total receipts		$4398 31
Expenditure		4644 64
Deficiency Dec. 31, 1878		$246 33

The cost of arranging and binding a large amount of manuscript material will add several hundred dollars to this amount.

Publication Fund.

Investments and principal in cash	$26,762 25	
Receipts from interest, sales, etc., 1878		$2692 94
Expenditure	"	2552 06

By new subscribers the sum of $1060 was added to the principal of the Fund. The second volume of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE of History and Biography was completed.

Binding Fund.

Investments	$3300 00

493 volumes were bound during the year.

Library Fund.

George Washington Smith's Donation	$1000
Jesse George's Bequest	4000

The mortgage representing the bequest of Mr. George has been foreclosed, and the property bought in for the sum of $3700. By the contributions of several members the Trustees were enabled to obtain 81 volumes at the cost of $200.

Building Fund.

Investments and cash on hand	$14,773 70

Endowment Fund.

This fund has been increased to $3500.

The Society's Funds by Bequest at present are composed of the following, viz.:

Paul Beck's Bequest	$100
Athenian Institute Donation	350
Peter S. Du Ponceau's Bequest	200
Thomas Sergeant's Bequest	100
George Chambers's Bequest	100
Jesse George's Bequest	1000
Mrs. Eliza Gilpin's Bequest	5100
Life Membership Fund	1050
Total	$8000

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STATED MEETINGS.

January 12, 1880. May 3, 1880.
March 3, " November 10, 1880.
January 10, 1881.

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Life membership	50.00
Publication Fund, life subscription . . .	25.00
Pennsylvania Magazine, per annum . . .	3.00

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(Surnames that are of value in genealogical research are printed in SMALL CAPITALS without Christian names, except in the cases of Brown, Jones, and Smith.)

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